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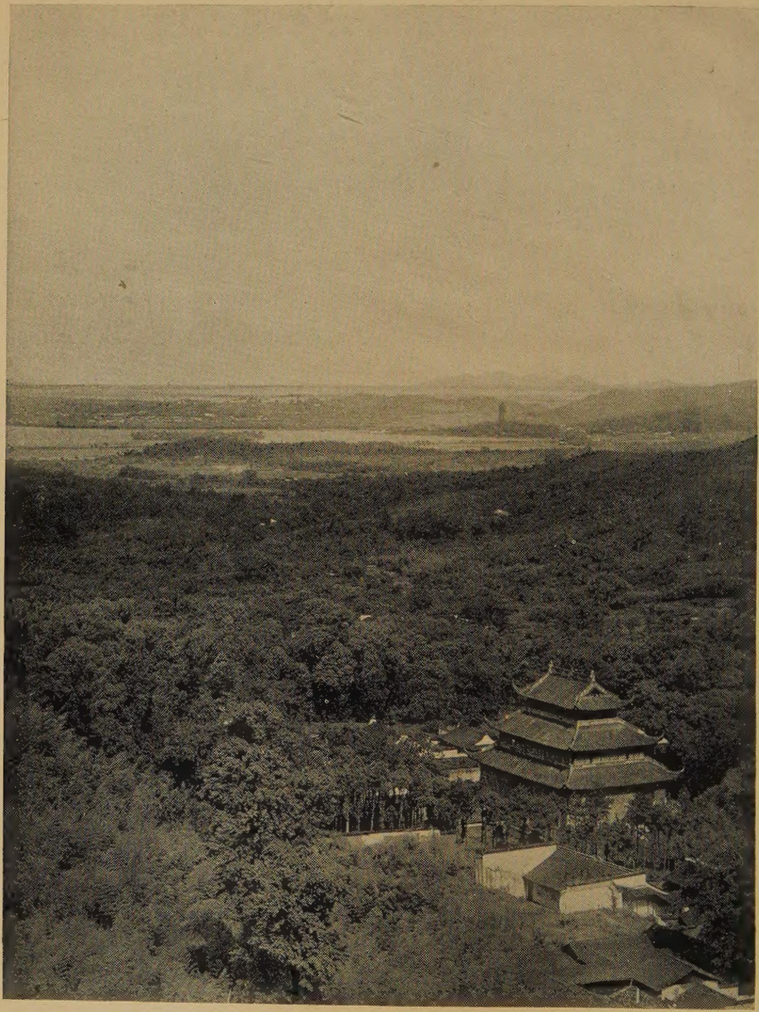
CHRISTIANS IN CHINA



湖外城烟江外山

THE VIEW FROM THE T'AO-KUANG MONASTERY

"Beyond the Lake, the City Smoke; beyond the River, the Hills."

From verses by Wei Fang-t'ai, 19 October, 1664.

Frontispiece.

CHRISTIANS IN CHINA

BEFORE THE YEAR

1550

BY

A. C. MOULE

LONDON
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
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TO
THE BLESSED MEMORY
OF MY
FATHER AND MOTHER

PREFACE

THE plan of this book has been to gather into one volume the available evidence of the existence of Christians in China in the early and middle ages of the Christian era, and to give in English translation the actual words of the original authorities in every case, avoiding as far as possible all generalizations, summaries, or expressions of personal opinion. Careful references and necessary explanations have been given in footnotes. But when all is done the book remains incomplete, for the evidences of the presence of Christians in Old China have been accumulated at a pace which has outstripped my leisure and abilities; while mere want of space has made it necessary to give some lists of references and summaries in place of complete texts, especially in the eighth chapter.

The help received from many kind friends is, I hope, duly acknowledged in the proper places. On almost every page my debts to the late Sir Henry Yule and to Professor Paul Pelliot, still fortunately in the prime of his powers, will be clear. To the latter's friendship and encouragement I owe much more than even the many references to his published works might suggest. I owe more general gratitude to my Father, and to the late Professor Edouard Chavannes, to my brothers George and Henry, and to many others, including Mr G. K. Leung and Mr Sinmay Zau and through them to unknown Chinese helpers. Many thanks are due to the staffs of the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cambridge University Library, and other libraries, to Messrs Vaus and Crampton, and to photographers who have helped with the illustrations, and especially to Dr R. F. Fitch of Hangchow for allowing the use of his beautiful photograph of Ling-yin for the frontispiece.

I have also to thank the Rev. P. Tacchi Venturi S.J., the Editor of the *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, and the publishers or editors of other journals for the use which they have kindly allowed me to make of materials which have appeared in their respective publications. The Eastern Press, Reading, have most courteously lent some Chinese types. Finally I am indebted to my Wife for great help in reading the proofs and making the index.

To some it will be a disappointment to find that the book is not the story of the far off beginnings of a Christian church which has grown and increased and become established in the land, but rather the record of the residence in China for longer or shorter periods at various epochs of larger or smaller numbers of foreigners who were in name or fact Christians, though that record will include the story of at least two great if disappointed evangelistic missions. Nor will any attempt be found to discuss the possible influence of Christianity on Buddhist doctrine or on Chinese thought. Little or no evidence has yet been published which tends to justify the late Dr Timothy Richards's words that a famous Buddhist treatise is " an Asiatic form of the same Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ " or Professor Saeki's " the China of the T'ang Era was under Christian influence actually, if not in name."

While it has been easy for me to spell Chinese words consistently in Wade's system it has been extraordinarily difficult to transliterate the alphabetic Asiatic scripts, and the spelling will seem wrong and inconsistent to experts and stands in need of much apology. It is hoped that the uniform spelling of the Chinese words will reduce the confusion, which must arise from the omission of native characters, to the least dimensions. A few important texts are given in facsimile.

A. C. M.

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Reproduced by leave of the Editor and Publishers of the *T'oung-pao*.

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Photograph by Mr W. Tams, reproduced by leave of the Syndics of the University Library, Cambridge.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFH	*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum,* Quaracchi, periodical.
A.M.	*Annales Minorum* by Luke Wadding O.S.F.
B.D.	*A Chinese Biographical Dictionary* by H. A. Giles.
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient,* Hanoi, periodical.
BF	*Bullarium Franciscanum* by Sbaralea and Eubel, in progress.
B.O.	*Bibliotheca Orientalis* by J. S. Assemani, 3 volumes.
CSCCC	*Chih shun chên chiang chih,* 1333, printed 1842, by Yü Hsi-lu.
GB	*Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa* etc., by G. Golubovich O.S.F., 5 volumes.
JA	*Journal Asiatique,* Paris, periodical.
J.A.O.S.	*Journal of the American Oriental Society,* New York, periodical.
JNCBRAS	*Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Shanghai, periodical.
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London, periodical.
SF	*Sinica Franciscana* vol. I., 1929, by Anastasius Van den Wyngaert O.S.F.
W.	L. Wadding in *A.M.* as above.
YS	*Yüan shih,* Shanghai, 1908.
YTC	*Yüan tien chang* (*Ta yüan shêng chêng kuo ch'ao tien chang*), Hang-chou, 1908.
YTCTK	*Yüan t'ung chih t'iao ko* (in *Yüan yeh li k'o wên k'ao*).

See also p. 213.

CHRISTIANS IN CHINA BEFORE THE YEAR 1550

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

MATTEO RICCI tells us that when the Jesuit missionaries reached China late in the sixteenth century they found the very memory of Christianity there on the point of vanishing; and his story makes a good introduction to the study of the history of that Christianity of which he witnessed the last scene.

A Jew named Ai,[1] who had read of the Jesuits in a Chinese book called *Things I have heard tell*, seized the opportunity of making their acquaintance when he came to Peking on business and called on Ricci there at the end of June, 1605. "From this man" writes Ricci "we learnt that in the capital of Ho-nan, called K'ai-fêng, there were ten or twelve families of Jews, with a very fine synagogue, which they had lately restored at a cost of ten thousand ducats, where they kept with great reverence the Pentateuch of Moses written on parchment and mounted on five rollers. And they had been there for five or six hundred years. And he said that in the capital of Chê-chiang, called Hang-chou, there were many more families of their religion with a synagogue; and in other places, but with no synagogue, because they were gradually disappearing. And because they do not eat pork the Chinese make little distinction between them and the

---

[1] This was Ai T'ien, a native of Hsiang-fu, who took his second degree (*chü jên*) in 1573. cf. *K'ai fêng fu chih* c. 23 fol. 48v°, in *Le Juif Ngai* by Paul PELLIOT, *T'oung-pao*, 1921, p. 38.

Mohammedan Saracens, although these Jews dislike that sect and have nothing to do with it."[2]

Very little is known of the history of the Jews in China. The synagogue at K'ai-fêng was built A.D. 1163, as is recorded in four or five inscriptions there, dated respectively June, 1489, 3 August, 1512, June, 1663, and 1679. From the earliest of these inscriptions we learn that a party of seventy[3] families reached China in the Sung dynasty and were invited by the Emperor to settle at Pien (the modern K'ai-fêng). The next inscription says that the Jews reached China in the Han dynasty, while the third (1663) ascribes their arrival to the Chou dynasty or before the year B.C. 250.[4] We learn too from these inscriptions that the synagogue was repaired or enlarged in the years 1279, 1421, 1445, 1461, *c.*1480, 1512, and rebuilt just after the middle of the seventeenth century. As many as thirteen copies of the Law had been kept in the synagogue before it was destroyed by the cutting of the

---

[2] *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S.I.*, vol. I. *I Commentari della Cina*, 1911, p. 469. Ricci's Commentaries, printed at Macerata his native place, have long been more or less known through N. Trigault's *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*, Rome, 1615.

[3] "seventy" is perhaps a mistake for "seventeen." Just seventeen names are given on the monument. Of these all except Li and Ai have been carefully erased, only Kao, Mu, Chao, and Chin being recognizable while the remaining eleven are quite illegible on the published facsimile. The list of names given by Tobar (*Inscriptions Juives*, 1900, p. 43) from "the copies" contains three duplicates, and there are said to be duplicates among the names of the seven clans which survive. The seven clans of the 17th century were however Li, Chao, Ai, Chang, Kao, Chin, Shih, as given on the inscription of 1663. cf. J. Tobar, *Inscriptions Juives* (*Var. Sin.* 17) p. 83.

The inscriptions were on three stone slabs. The first with the inscriptions of 1489 and 1512, and the third with the nearly illegible inscription of 1679 were removed before 1912 to the premises of the Canadian Church Mission at K'ai-fêng where they are carefully preserved. The second, containing the inscription of 1663 and another of about the same date, is lost.

[4] No trace of the presence of Jews in China before the Sung dynasty has been found in Chinese books or inscriptions. Sir A. Stein found a mutilated Judaeo-Persian fragment at Dandān-uiliq (*Ancient Khotan*, vol. I. pp. 306–9, 570–4; vol. II. Plate cxix), and a little MS. of the 9th or 10th century in square Hebrew letters was found by Pelliot at Tun-huang in 1908 (*JA*, juillet-août, 1913, pp. 139–175). cf. also Pelliot, *BEFEO*, I. pp. 263, 264; Chavannes, *T'oung-pao*, 1904, pp. 482, 483; Laufer, *Globus* vol. 87, pp. 245–7; who agree that the Jews probably came from India by sea in the Sung dynasty.

Yellow River embankments in 1642; and by dint of careful piecing together of fragments and copying, the same number was made up again by 1663. Two of the old copies had come in the fifteenth century from Ning-po, a fact which seems to show that there may have been a prosperous colony of Jews at that port. Benefactors, who may have been Jews, from Yang-chou and Ning-hsia are also named.[5]

Jews are mentioned by Abū-Zaid among the foreigners resident at Khanfu (Canton) in the ninth century; by Marco Polo as at Khan-baliq in the thirteenth century; by Marignolli as at Khan-baliq, by Andrew of Perugia as (probably) at Zaitun (Ch'üan-chou), by Ibn Batuta as at Khansā, and in at least two places in the *Yüan shih* or History of the Mongol dynasty, and in the *Yüan tien chang*, all in the fourteenth century; and lastly in seventeenth century Mohammedan books. Of the colony at Hang-chou no trace remains or has been found in Chinese books. The aged mullah at the mosque there at the end of the nineteenth century insisted that his ancestors came from Judæa, and this may mean that he was a renegade Jew from K'ai-fêng (from which place he came), but does not justify us in regarding him as a last relic of the Hang-chou Jews. The impoverished Jews at K'ai-fêng had begun to pull down their synagogue in 1851, and when W. A. P. Martin visited them on 17 February, 1866, all trace of the buildings seems to have gone, though the last remnants of the colony still keep, it is said, some memory of their distinctive race and religion. The site of the synagogue was bought by the Mission of the Church of Canada late in the year 1912.[6]

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[5] *Inscriptions Juives* passim. The London Jews Society has kindly lent me a list of the Jewish MSS. (exclusive of six large rolls of the Pentateuch) obtained by them from K'ai-fêng. Of these 29 (Nos. i–xxx, omitting xi) are Prayers and 34 (Nos. xxxi–lxiv) Sections of the Law. All these are in Hebrew with the following exceptions: (*a*) Many if not all of the rubrics and notes are in Persian, written in Hebrew or Persian letters; (*b*) Nos. v and xii have Persian versions added to certain Hymns; (*c*) No. vi (Sabbath Morning Prayers) gives the days of the week in Syriac; (*d*) No. iv (Prayers for Sabbath and other Festivals) contains lists of names which occupy more than 40 pages. These lists are divided under the seven clans (Ai, Li, Chang, Kao, Chao, Chin, Shih) and are a curious mixture of Hebrew or Persian and Chinese names, the latter sometimes in Hebrew characters (e.g. 茶 李 לי שהבת). The family names of the women seem to show that marriage with Chinese women was common. cf. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1895, pp. 123–139; *Jewish Miss. Intelligence*, Jan., Oct., 1896; and *Jewish Intelligence*, 1851, pp. 129–150, 432. It is understood that these MSS. are now at the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

"On this occasion" the story goes on" Father Ricci asked Ai if he had any knowledge of the Christians, and he could say nothing about them under that name. But when he made signs to him, he said that there were certain foreigners in the same city of K'ai-fêng, and also at Lin-ch'ing and in Shan-hsi, who had come to China with their ancestors and worshipped the cross, and that part of the doctrine which they recited was from their (Jewish) books which they too recited;—this would be the Psalter. That these people, from a fear which the Saracens of that place had brought upon them that they were to be massacred by the Chinese, had now left the church which they had there and in other places (and he named the church, which had already been turned into an idol temple), hidden themselves, and joined some of them their church, some that of the Saracens, and the greater part that of the Chinese, that is to say the worship of idols.

"And being asked why these people worship the cross he could say nothing; and he said that not even those who worshipped it knew why they did so, only that over everything which they ate or drank they made a cross with their finger. The fathers had heard the same of other persons, and knew it for a certain enough thing that it was a custom in many places in China to make a black cross on the foreheads of little children to defend them from all misfortune; and that what our countryman Jerome Ruscelli said in his *Notes on Ptolemy's Geography*,[7] on the maps of China, was true.

[6] W. C. MILNE, *Real Life in China*, 1858, pp. 336–342; *JNCBRAS*, 1906, pp. 1–20; 1913, p. 195. Bishop W. C. WHITE, who lives at K'ai-fêng and has carefully studied the history of the Jews there, has very kindly supplied some notes and corrections in the above pages.

[7] *La Geografia di Clavdio Tolomeo Alessandrino, nuovamente tradotta di Greco in Italiano*, da Girolamo RVSCELLI, etc., Venice, M.D.LXI. The passage comes *In Libro ottavo, et vltimo*, which begins on p. 353, in the *Annotatione* on the 4th and last page of *Dell' Asia, tavola XI. antica*, : LA prouincia de i SINI oggi si dice la gran CHINA, & affermano essere il maggior Re di tutto il mondo, . . . Sono gente idolatra, ma tuttauia dicono, che tiene in grandissima

"And although this religion is extinct, yet the Jew said that many kept this custom of making the cross, and were known by their look which was quite different from that of other persons. And he wrote the names of all the families in Ho-nan who were descended from these people, and they were many. And among them was that of a *shang shu*, or president, of the Board of Revenue at Nan-ching, named Chang, who had always been a great friend of the fathers, as has been said, and other officials; for in the days when this religion was flourishing they had all been persons of great influence and military prowess, and this was the reason why people were suspicious of them. And since their appearance was sufficiently unlike that of the Chinese, they were called *hui-hui* like the Saracens and Jews, except that people called these descendants of the Christians *shih-tzŭ hui-hui* which means 'Saracens of the Cross.'

"This man called the Saracens—and so he said they were called among the Jews—*san-chiao* which means 'of three religions,' because of what they borrow from the Jews, Christians, and Gentiles. But the Chinese, as we learnt later, distinguish these three sects by different names; that is, they called the Saracens 'men who do not eat pork', the Jews 'men who do not eat sinews' (because they keep to this day the old law of taking out the sinews from all animals which they eat), and the descendants of Christians 'men who do not eat animals with uncloven hoofs', because, while the Moors and Jews and the whole of China eat the flesh of horses, mules, and other such beasts of burden, they follow the custom of their native land and do not eat it. . . .

"With this news we were greatly delighted, supposing that these descendants of Christians would easily be brought back to their ancestral faith." [8]

About three years later Ricci sent a Chinese brother to

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riuerenza la Croce, non si essendo inteso ancora per qual cagione egli lo faccia, se non forse Iddio vi tien uiuo quel seme di fede & religion vera, da farla nascere ò germogliare, quando all' incomprensibile volontà sua sarà seruigio. Elsewhere however, under *India Tercera ventesima ottaua tavola nuova*, RUSCELLI says of the Sini: Et sono gente molto ciuile nel vestito, & ne i costumi, ma non son Cristiani.

[8] *Op. Stor.*, vol. I. pp. 469–471.

K'ai-fêng to investigate the facts about these "worshippers of the Cross", but with no success. Writing from Peking on 8 March, 1608, he says: "I sent a brother to the province of Ho-nan where we had heard that there were traces of the religion of the Cross, which had been in China long ago, but he could recover nothing of what we wished to learn, namely what images they had and what alphabet they used. And the reason was that sixty years ago the Chinese wished to seize the members of this religion, and they all hid themselves, becoming heathen or Moors from fear, and to this day they do not reveal themselves.[9] And so now, when our brother asked them these questions, they were frightened, not knowing for what purpose they so unexpectedly asked them this; from which we concluded that it will be necessary for some father to go there, and if he stays there a long time he will be able little by little to learn the truth.

"The brother was very well received by the Jews there, who are not known by any other name than that derived from not eating the sinews of animals, keeping still the ancient rite with regard to the sinew which Jacob found shrunken after he had wrestled with the angel. They are few but they have a good synagogue where they keep with great respect the whole Pentateuch in Hebrew, rolled up after the manner of ancient books. We could not learn that they had any other books. The city is ten days journey from here and so it is easy to go there when we wish." [10]

The following extract from a letter written by Ricci on 26 July, 1605, about a month after Ai's visit, adds a few details to his more formal story. He says: "A few days ago we came to know for certain that there have been a good number of Christians in China for the past five hundred years, and that there are still considerable traces of them in many places. Of recent years I have written that we have found a Christian community in lands subject to China but outside the great northern walls, where to this day, for want of a few *scuti* to make the journey there, we have sent no one to find out how many they are or whence they came. Now we know that in the middle of China, half a month from here and the same distance from Nan-ching, in the province of Ho-nan and in the capital which is called K'ai-fêng fu there are five or six families of Christians who have now lost almost all the little Christianity they had, because several years ago they turned the church into the temple of an idol called Kuan wang. What has hindered us from knowing of them until now is that they are not called by the name of Christians but by their race of Terza, which seems to be the name of the country from which they came to China, and by the religion of *shih tzŭ*, which means 'of the figure of ten' which in Chinese writing is a perfect cross like this +; for in appearance and features and in not worshipping idols they were like the Moors and Jews and were only distinguished by the fact that they ate pork and all kinds of flesh, making over it a cross with the hand.

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[9] It seems to have been about this time that the violence of foreign traders on the coast is said to have attracted the attention and roused the suspicions of the government. cf. E. H. PARKER, *China and Religion* p. 190.

[10] *Op. Stor.*, vol. II. p. 344.

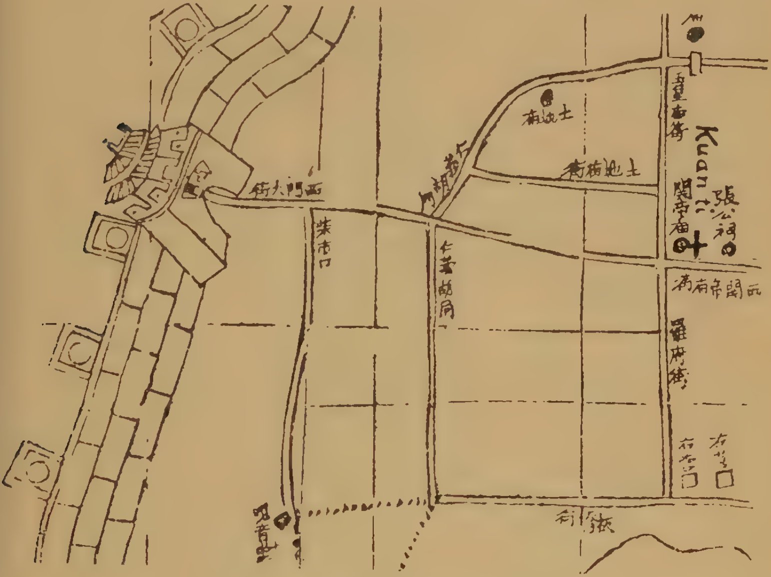

FIG. 1.—The West Gate of K'ai-fêng.

"We learnt this from a Jew in religion, race, and features, who came to see me the other day, attracted by what he had heard and by one of the many books which have been printed about our affairs, from which he understood that we were neither Moors nor heathen and thought that we were of his own religion. The name of this man was Ai, of the province of Ho-nan, where he lives in the capital. His father had three sons, and he (the speaker) devoted himself to Chinese studies and graduated as a licentiate. He was now sixty years old and had come to ask for an office which had been granted him in a school at Yang-chou. The other two brothers studied Hebrew and are, it seems, rabbi among them; for he said that at his home was a large synagogue on which they had spent 10000 *scuti*, and that there are seven or eight families of his religion.

"He called in the octave of S. John Baptist and we had put on the altar a beautiful large image of our Lady with the child Jesus on one side and S. John Baptist on the other. He did not know the name Jew but only called himself an Israelite. And seeing these figures he thought that they were the two children Jacob and Esau, and so he said, Though I do not worship images I want to show respect to these my forefathers; and so he bowed and did reverence. And when he said at first that the founder of his religion had twelve sons, I thought that he was a Christian and was talking of the twelve Apostles, but in the end I found that he was not a Christian but was not much averse from Christianity, since he told me they could not keep their law in China because of circumcision, purification, pork, and other things which hindered their dealings with other people, especially for those who wished to take office. And he gave me to understand that he was put out of the synagogue and did not know much, although he told me many stories from the Old Testament, of the twelve tribes from Moses down to the story of Haman and Mardocheus (whom he called Amaan and Mardocai); and he said that his brothers knew everything that was in their holy books, and he thought that they had other religious books.

"He said that they had a tradition that when king

Tamerlane conquered all Persia he conquered China too, and there came with him many Moors, Christians, and Jews, about eight hundred years ago, and that the Moors were the strongest, and so the Christians and Jews remained few. But in the Ho-nan country there were members of all three sects, though the Christians were practically extinct. But among them there were many scholars and high officials. Among the rest there is still living a *shang shu* of Nan-ching named Chang Mêng-nan, a great friend of mine when I was there, and last year when he came to Peking he came to see me and showed me many kindnesses; and he treats the fathers at Nan-ching well. And he said that these people do not like to admit that they are descended from foreigners, a thing little respected in China. This Chang Mêng-nan looks, as regards his face, like one of our country.

"The next day the Jew brought to our house a fellow-countryman of his named Chang, who he said was a descendant of the Christians, who also had to obtain office and had received a post in the province of Shàn-hsi (Shensi) near to those ancient Christians outside the walls, who are subject to him by virtue of this new office. With this man we made great friends and he showed a great wish to understand all about our religion and to return to the religion of his forefathers. But in six days he left Peking and was always very busy, besides the obstacle which he had in polygamy. And so he left, to settle this another time. But he promised me to do his best in both places, that is in his home and in the place where he held office, to find out how much was still left of Christianity and, what I wanted more, what writing they used, whether Syriac or, as seems more likely, Greek; as I am inclined to think by a bell which I saw ten years ago in the hands of a Chinaman. It was very old and had crosses and Greek letters on it and came, it seems, from that country of Ho-nan. We are expecting the father Visitor who has to come to visit these houses, and I have no doubt that he will send at once to know how much good there is in that region, and I hope in God that with this the door of Christianity in China will be opened still more widely.

"From this we understand that there is absolutely no doubt now that China is Marco Polo the Venetian's Cathay, and that what he says is quite true that there are Christians in Cathay, for in his days they would have been many." [11]

Ricci and his successor Longobardi seem to have been content to believe what was probably true, that these worshippers of the Cross had come to China in the train of the Mongol conquerors or perhaps a century earlier. But Trigault with the help of his friends in India would ascribe the origin of Christianity in China to S. Thomas himself. He says that "in the Syriac manuscripts of the Malabar coast . . . we read very plainly that the faith was carried to the Sinae by the same Apostle of Christ and that several churches were founded in that kingdom." He then gives a

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[11] *Op. Stor.*, vol. II. pp. 289–293. Kuan wang or Kuan ti, a very popular canonized hero, is probably meant by Ricci's *Quanguam.* On a map of K'ai-fêng kindly shown me by Bishop White there is a temple of Kuan ti near the west gate. The fact that this is not mentioned in the *K'ai fêng fu chih* (ed. 1695) shows either that the temple is more recent than 1695 or that it was quite insignificant and perhaps known to be foreign. *Shih tzŭ* is *xezu* in the original, Ai is *Ngai*, *shang shu* is *scianciu*, Chang is *Cian*. Chang Mêng-nan, Ricci's *Ciammennan*, was a native of Chung-mou a few miles west of K'ai-fêng and took his *chin shih* degree in 1565. It is nice to know that he is recorded as one of two men who specially graced the post of President of the Board of Revenue at Nan-ching in the Wan-li reign. cf. *Ming shih* c. 221 fol. 6, 7. *Terza* is *tarsā*, a word applied by Moslems to Christians and other non-Moslems, not really a national name though the Chinese were apt to regard the other term for Christians (*yeh-li-k'o-wên*) and *hui-hui* (Moslem) both as national designations.

Bishop White tells me that "Seven names or eight clans" (*ch'i hsing pa chia*) is still the conventional account of the Jewish community.

Tamerlane is presumably a mistake for Chingis. Longobardi, writing on 23 November, 1610 (*Op. Stor.*, vol. II. pp. 491, 492) repeats the statement that these Christians entered China in the Mongol dynasty, which he dates more exactly at 300 years before his time.

The account of the many Christians, including the emperor ("He said he had often seen the king going to Church, as he is a Christian;"), with many Churches and monasteries, in China which is given by Jerome Xavier S.J. in a letter of 26 July, 1598, on the authority of "a certain Mahometan merchant, sixty years old," who said he "had lived thirteen years in that kingdom at the town of Xambalù (Cambalù, as ours call it), the king's Court," is too obviously mistaken to need repetition. cf. *Journal of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal* N.S. XXIII No. 1. pp. 59–61 (H. Hosten, "Fr. N. Pimenta's Annual Letter on Mogor."); and another letter from Xavier in B. Alcazar, *Chrono-historia de la Compañia de Jesus*, etc., 1710, p. 209*b*: vn Moro honrado, viejo, que estuvo treze años en el Catayo, . . Hasta de aver allà muchos Christianos, es cierto; por otra vez lo tenia oydo.

Latin translation, made by John Maria Campori S.J., of two passages from "the Syriac Breviary of the Malabar Church of Mar Thomas which is called *Gaza*" in order, as he says, "that so remarkable a monument of antiquity might be preserved."[12] Professor F. C. Burkitt has found the same passages in a Syriac Breviary which is independent of the Malabar Church, and has kindly given the following versions. The first passage, from "the Office of Mar Thomas the Apostle (3 July), in the second Nocturn, in one of the Lessons", is as follows:

> "By S. Thomas has been abolished the error of idolatry
> from the Indians:
> By S. Thomas the Chinese also with the Ethiopians have
> turned to the truth.
> By S. Thomas have shone the beams of the doctrine of
> Life in all India:
> By S. Thomas has flown and gone up the Kingdom of the
> Height among the Chinese."[13]

The second passage is: "Indians and Chinese and Persians and other outlanders and those in Syria and Armenia and Ionia and Romania bring worship in commemoration of Thomas to thy Name, our Saviour."[14]

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[12] TRIGAULT, *Christ. Exped.* pp. 124, 125.

[13] *Breviarium Chaldaicum* ed. P. BEDJAN, 3 vols., Paris, 1886, 1887; vol. III. p. 476 (ܬܥܘ)

ܒܝܕ ܡܪܝ ܬܐܘܡܐ ܒܛܠܬ ܛܥܝܘܬܐ. ܕܦܬܟܪܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܢܕܘܝܐ.
ܒܝܕ ܡܪܝ ܬܐܘܡܐ ܐܦ ܨܝ̈ܢܝܐ. ܥܡ ܟܘܫܝ̈ܐ ܦܢܘ ܠܫܪܪܐ
. . . ܒܝܕ ܡܪܝ ܬܐܘܡܐ ܕܢܚܘ ܙܠܝ̈ܩܐ. ܕܝܘܠܦܢ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܒܟܠܗ
ܗܢܕܘ. ܒܝܕ ܡܪܝ ܬܐܘܡܐ ܦܪܚܬ ܣܠܩܬ. ܡܠܟܘܬ ܪܘܡܐ ܒܝܬ
ܨܝ̈ܢܝܐ.

These are the 3rd, 4th, 8th, and 9th couplets in a hymn of ten couplets.

[14] *Ibid.* p. 478 (ܬܥܚ)

[ܕܘܟܪܢܐ ܠܟܠܗܢ.] ܗܢ̈ܕܘܝܐ ܘܨܝ̈ܢܝܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܘܫܪܟܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ.
ܘܕܒܣܘܪܝܐ ܘܐܪܡܢܝܐ ܘܝܘܢܝܐ ܘܪܗܘܡܝܐ. ܡܩܪܒܝܢ ܣܓܕܬܐ
ܒܕܘܟܪܢܗ ܕܬܐܘܡܐ ܠܫܡܟ ܦܪܘܩܢ.

The existence of these references to China in a text of the Breviary

These extracts from the Breviary do not say that S. Thomas went to China, still less that he built churches there, but Trigault may have heard the more detailed story which was known in India. Xavier, writing from Amboina on 10 May, 1546, says, "Many people say that S. Thomas the Apostle went to China, and that he made many Christians, and that the Church of Greece, before the Portuguese were masters of India, sent bishops to teach and baptize the Christians which S. Thomas and his disciples made in these parts. One of these bishops said, when the Portuguese reached India, that after he came from his own land to India he heard it said by the bishops who were in India that S. Thomas went to China and made Christians."[15] And Gaspar da Cruz, a Dominican who entered China A.D. 1556, writes as follows: "When I was in the land where the Apostle S. Thomas suffered martyrdom, which the Portuguese call Sam Thome, and those of the country Moleapor (Mailapur), I learned that an Armenian, a very honest man, coming there on a pilgrimage from Armenia out of devotion to the Apostle had declared on oath, which for greater certainty was given him by the Portuguese who serve as stewards in the church of the Apostle, that the Armenians have it in their true and authentic writings that before the Apostle suffered martyrdom in Moleapor he went to China to preach the Gospel, and after being there some days and seeing that he

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which is independent of the Malabar Church and in a hymn whose form is said to suggest an early date is of great interest and carries the tradition of S. Thomas preaching to the Chinese back at least well before the end of the 16th century. The fact that they were left intact at that date is evidence of the conservative spirit of the Jesuit revisers. The Nestorian Canon, or Breviary, had been revised in the 7th century by the Catholicos Ishu-yabh III (A.D. 647–657) and Hananishu (cf. BUDGE, *Book of Governors* vol. I. p. 79, vol. II. p. 176; ASSEMANI, *B.O.* vol. III. pt. i. p. 145, pt. ii. p. 518), and it is possible that the references to China may have been added then, when Christianity had certainly reached China, or at some later date. They were quoted from ASSEMANI by T. YEATES in *Indian Church History*, 1818, p. 79.

[15] *Monumenta Xaveriana* (in *Mon. Hist. Soc. Iesu*), tom. I. pp. 407, 414 (postscript to Ep. 56). Uno destos obispos dixo, quando los portugeses ganaron la India, que después que uino de su tierra á la India oió dizir á los obispos que en la India halhó, que Sancto Thomé fué á la China y que hizo xpianos.

could not bear fruit among them he returned to Moleapor, leaving in China three or four disciples whom he had made there; which agrees with the book of the house. Whether those disciples whom the Apostle left bore fruit in the country and by them the country came to the knowledge of one God we do not know; though generally none among them knows of the Gospel law, nor of Christianity, nor as yet of one God, not even a trace of it, more than that they hold that all depends on heaven above, both the creation of all things and their preservation and governance; and not knowing particularly who is the author of these things, they attribute them to the same heaven. And thus they feel after God in blindness. In the city of Cantão (Canton) in the midst of the River which is of fresh water and very broad is a little Isle, in the which is a manner of a Monastery of their Priests; and within this Monastery I saw an Oratory high from the ground very well made, with certain gilt steps before it, made of carved work, in which was a woman very well made with a child about her neck, and it had a lamp burning before it. I suspecting that to be some show of Christianity, demanded of some Lay-men, and some of the Idol Priests which were there, what that woman signified, and none could tell it me, nor give me any reason of it. It might well be the Image of our Lady, made by the ancient Christians, that Saint Thomas left there, or by their occasion made, but the conclusion is that all is forgotten: it might also be some Gentiles Image."[16]

A more detailed and rather different story is told by de Gouvea who says: "Starting then from Jerusalem, S. Thomas travelled through various provinces and preached to the Parthians, Medes, and Persians, passed through Arabia and embarked for India; and after a long voyage landed on the island of Sacotora (Socotra) which is the nearest land to

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[16] *Tractado da China*, Evora, 1569, fol. k iii. q̄ os Armenios tinhā em suas scripturas certas & autēticas, q̄ antes q̄ ho Apostolo padecesse martirio em Moleapor, fora aa China a pregar ho euangelho. cf. *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. III. p. 195 (ed. 1906, vol. XI. p. 557) and *The Historie of the great and mightie Kingdome of China* &c. *Translated out of Spanish by* R. PARKE, London, 1588, pp. 24–26. The Spanish by Juan Gonzalez da MENDOZA, 1585, is largely based on Gaspar da CRUZ.

Arabia Felix (There are however some who say that he embarked at Bacora (Basra) near the river Euphrates[17]) and sailing by the Persian Sea he arrived, after long tossing on the waves, at the island which is at the mouth of the two seas which discharge their waters through the strait of the Red Sea; and began to sow there the good seed of the word of God, which took so good root that he converted all the people to the faith of Jesus Christ and built several Churches there of which some are still standing. And though this island having been invaded by the king of Caxem has come under the power of the Moors by reason of the great trade which they have with the Turks, and though by the same means Christianity has been banished from the island, yet notwithstanding they still to this day keep the name of Christian, worship the Cross, observe certain fasts, and go to pray in the churches. . . .

"From the island of Socotora S. Thomas set sail for the Indies and the first place which he reached was Cranganor, a noble and famous town at that time in which dwelt the principal king of Malabar, who was then celebrating the wedding of one of his sons. . . .

"After the glorious Apostle had planted the religion in Cranganor (as has been said) he travelled over all the coast of Malabar and arrived at last at Coulao (Quilon), where also he stopped, for it is a capital town and of great renown; and there he converted several to the faith. Thence he went forward and came to the city of Maliapor, an exceedingly great city and the richest in all India at that time, which is today inhabited by Portuguese and named S. Thomas in honour of the holy Apostle who suffered martyrdom there. It was there that he set up his business with great profit; he preached, converted the king and all the people, and left there several of his disciples to keep them in the faith which they had received. From thence he embarked and set sail into China on board of Chinese ships (for at that time the Chinese were like masters of the sea, and sailed over all these Indian seas) and landed at a town named Camballe, which is at present unknown to us, where he converted a great number of souls, who received baptism and built churches.

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[17] This detail is found in João de Barros (*Da Asia*, Dec. III Pt. i Liv. VII cap. XI, 1563, fol. 305v°). In 1533 Nuno da Cunha had investigated the story of S. Thomas, and among other evidence had taken that of an Armenian Bishop who swore that he had spent 20 years in India and knew all the "Christians of the Apostle" about Kulam. "And" says de Barros "what he knew of the holy Apostle, according to what was written, was that when the Apostles began to preach the Gospel through the world, three (S. Thomas, S. Bartholomew, and S. Judas Thaddaeus) set out together and came to Babylonia, and there they separated . . . and that the Apostle S. Thomas embarked at the city Bascora near the river Euphrates and sailed over the Persian (Parseo) sea to the island Çocotorá, where he preached the Gospel; and having made many Christians he went thence to India to that city Meliapor, which at that time was one of the best known in India. And a large Christian body having been made there, he embarked for China in Chinese ships, and was at a city called Cambalia, where he converted many people and made churches to the honour of Christ, and returned to this same city of Meliapor." This Armenian Bishop may be the same as Xavier's Bishop or as da Cruz's honest Armenian pilgrim, though the stories are not identical in detail. It is disappointing to learn that the story has not been traced in any extant Armenian document.

"However, of this journey which the Histories say S. Thomas made to the kingdom of China, or to the opposite coast, we cannot know exactly about it, neither where this town of Bambale, to which the Chinese took the glorious Apostle, was situated, nor is there any sign of it to be seen in the kingdom of China: although probable conjectures are not wanting that the holy Gospel has been preached in those regions at a former time. This opinion is supported by the old writings of the Bishopric of Serre [18] or Angamal, in which we read that for the benefit of the Christians of Serre there came to this country from Babylon an archbishop of Inda (which is India) and two bishops, one of Sacotora, the other of Masina,[19] who obeyed him as their Metropolitan.

"And although the said writings do not tell plainly where these two towns were, yet it is sufficiently clear from their names that they are in the kingdom of China, or on the coast opposite this, or at least near there.[20] Some say that the country where S. Thomas went to preach after he had left Maliapor was that which we now call Catayo (Cathay), where it is said that there are Christians and churches also, and where (as our excellent author Jean Barros professes to prove) reigns that powerful monarch of the Indies, so famous in old stories, Prester John; which name we Portuguese have given to the Christians of the empire of the Abissins (Abyssinians), as there is a most powerful king of the Christians in that part of India, adding sometimes that the documents of Serre give the name of China or Masina to the kingdom of Catayo, because it is conterminous on the north with the regions of China which are next to the Tartars, with whom the Chinese are continually fighting; and the conjecture becomes all the more probable since (as the same Barros writes) the Christians in the said Catayo are of the sect of Nestorius, just as those of Serra are, and all the people to whom the above named prelates used to come from Babylon. Nevertheless that Catayo or Catuzo was the country where S. Thomas landed and preached when he left Maliapor appears to me to be very doubtful, and it is inconsistent with what the Histories say of it, namely that he embarked on Chinese ships which came to the Indies to bring their traffic and merchandise. For, granting that, it is far more probable that they took the holy Apostle to the kingdom of China, their native land, rather than to a foreign land, the Tartars against whom the Chinese are continually making war. . . . But the difficulty appears even greater if we admit that S. Thomas went to Catayo when he left Maliapor; for then I ask, where are these people whom the Histories of Serre call Masina, where the bishop used to come from Babylon subject to the archbishop of Serre, Metropolitan of the Indies? They cannot indeed be in Catayo: the immense intervening distance makes that sufficiently clear, for between Catayo and these other kingdoms there is a journey by land of five months. Of this we are assured by certain information of the year of our Lord 1601, given to the fathers of the Company of Jesus who live at the court of the Equebar (Akbar), the great Mogor, in the kingdoms of Agra and Labor (Lahore), by persons who came to the court of this great king: for they declared that in coming from Catayo to the said kingdoms they had spent quite five months." [21]

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[18] Dr. L. D. Barnett writes: "Serre seems to be a way of rendering the Sanskrit Chera, which means generally the country of Travancore and Kongudesa."

It may probably be relevant to compare "la Christiandad de la Sierra, que llaman de Santo Thomè," in a letter by Jerome Xavier dated 12 Nov., 1593, in B. Alcazar, *Chrono-historia de la Com. de Jesus*, etc. p. 205*b* (cf. H. Hosten, *Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal* N.S. XXIII No. 1. p. 113).

[19] *Mahācīna* and *Mācīn* were Indian names for China still in use in the 13th century, and not certainly connected with *Manzi* or *Mangi* the name used for south China by Marco Polo and other medieval writers.

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[20] This remark (as far as it concerns the "town" of Sacotora at any rate) comes very oddly after the elaborate description of Socotra which has been quoted above.

"The Histories" do not seem to be mentioned by any modern author, and may not be extant. But Dr W. J. RICHARDS writes in *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas*, 1908, p. 72, "There is a very interesting account in *Malayalam*, the language of Malabar, which is non-Roman, and has been extant [That is the MS. from which my transcript was taken] since the middle of the eighteenth century, and, beginning with St. Thomas, brings the history of the Syrian Christians at Malabar down to A.D. 1770." The first part of this MS., translated in c. X of *The Indian Christians*, gives the familiar story of S. Thomas building the palace, and ends (p. 75) "Then the apostle, after he had ordained many priests and built churches there, set out for several other countries and preached the Gospel." A further portion is translated in c. XII, and the remainder, translated or summarized by Benjamin BAILEY, appeared in the *C.M.S. Report* for 1818,19, p. 317, and was reprinted as Appendix D of T. WHITEHOUSE, *Lingerings of Light*, 1873. This valuable MS. is kept at the Cambridge Nicholson Institution at Kottayam and Dr RICHARDS had a modern copy of it in England.

The margin of the next page (10) reads "In Catayo there are Christians and monks", but the text does not explicitly say so, and what it does say seems clearly to refer to Buddhist rather than to Christian monks; and de Gouvea concludes that if there are Christians in Cathay they are not of the Church founded by S. Thomas. The reports which de Gouvea had heard of Christians in Cathay may have been handed down from the fourteenth century or they may just possibly have been contemporary rumours such as had

[21] *Histoire Orientale, des grans progres de l'Eglise Cathol. Apost. & Rom. en la reduction des anciens Chrestiens, dits de S. Thomas, de plusieurs autres Schismatiques & Heretiques a l'union de la vraye Eglise. Conuersion encor des Mahometains, Mores & Payens. par Les bons deuoirs du Rme. & Illustme. Sr. Don Alexis de Meneses, de l'Ordre des Eremites de S. Augustin, Archeuesque de Goa, & Primat en tout l'Orient.* Composee en langue Portugaise par le R. P. F. Antoine Gouea, & puis mise en Espagnol par venerable P. F. François Munoz, & tournee en François par F. Iean Baptiste de Glen, Docteur en Theologie, tous Religieux du mesme Ordre. En Anvers. Par Hierosme Verdussen, Imprimeur Juré, Aux dix Commandemens, l'an 1609. Auec Priuilege. Buschere. pp. 3, 4, 6–9.

reached Ruscelli of the degenerate worshippers of the Cross who, as we have seen, were still lingering there. De Gouvea refers repeatedly to a work by Osorio who mentions S. Thomas in some detail but does not speak of his visit to China.[22]

From China S. Thomas is supposed to have returned to Mailapur where he incurred the hatred of two Brahmans and was put to death, being first stoned and then pierced with a spear; though in the story preserved by Marco Polo his death was due to an accident.[23]

Though Xavier, da Cruz, and de Gouvea may be the earliest extant authorities for this curious detailed addition to the well known story of S. Thomas's work in India, we find Nestorian writers of the first half of the fourteenth century speaking of S. Thomas as the Apostle of the Chinese or even as having gone to China. Assemani writes: "Ebedjesus Sobensis (in *Epit. Canonum* Pars IX. cap. I.) and Amrus son of Matthew (in *Vitae Patr: Nest:*) who call Thomas the Apostle of the Chinese, though they are of comparatively modern date, yet followed the general opinion of their day in referring to Thomas himself rather than to his disciples the story of the conversion of the Chinese to the faith of Christ which they took from the old records of their church."[24] We may quote the following passages from Ebedjesus ('Abd-Ishu); "The laying on of hands from the Apostles was received by India and the regions both belonging to it and round about it even to the ultimate sea, from Thomas who was governor and overseer in the church which he built there and served."[25] This passage, if it could be

[22] *Hieronymi Osorii Lusitani Episcopi Al'garbiensis Opera Omnia* . . . Rome, 1592, vol. I. pp. 690, 726 (*De rebus Emanuelis Regis Lusitaniae invictissimi virtute et auspicio gestis*, lib. III.). On p. 690 we also read: Eodem die aliam insulam, nomine Cambalam, aggressi sunt ubi supra septingentos homines interfecerunt. But this island has, quite probably, no sort of connexion with de GOUVEA's Camballe.

[23] ASSEMANI, *B.O.*, tom. III. pt. ii. p. 435. cf. YULE-CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, II., p. 355; L. F. BENEDETTO, *Il Milione*, p. 188.

[24] ASSEMANI, *ibid.* p. 518.

[25] *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita* ab A.M[aï]., Rome, 1838. tom. X. p. 7. This tome contains two works by EBEDJESUS: *Ebediesu, Metropolitae Sobae et Armeniae, Collectio Canonum Synodicorum, ex Chaldaicis Bibliothecae Vaticanae codicibus sumpta, et in Latinam Linguam translata, ab Aloysio Assemano. Praecedit Epitome Canonum Apostolicorum auctore eodem Ebediesu.*

stretched to include China, would be of considerable interest since it is, as Professor Burkitt kindly informs me, an exact version of the corresponding passage in *The Teaching of the Apostles through Addaeus*, a work written at or near Edessa not later than about A.D. 400.[26] Considering the very vague notions of the geography of eastern Asia current then and for the next thousand years it would be absurd however to suppose that the writer certainly had China in his mind. The passage of Ebedjesus to which Assemani alludes and which in another place he quotes is this: "Now the fifth [Patriarchal] see is Babylon on account of the honour of three Apostles who taught in its domain; Thomas namely, [teacher] of the Indians and Chinese, Bartholomew . . . and Addaeus."[27] This is the one certain mention of the Chinese in connexion with S. Thomas, I believe, in Ebedjesus. In an earlier work, written at the bidding of the Patriarch Jabalaha III, A.D. 1291, he says: "The holy Apostles, masters of the eastern shore, Thomas and Bartholomew of the number of the Twelve and Addaeus and Mares of the Seventy, bore the sacred leaven which they had kept to all the churches of the east for the accomplishment of the mystery of the Body of the Lord until his coming."[28]

Assemani quotes Elias Bishop of Damascus to the following effect: "The regions of Sindia and India and the neighbouring parts of the east as far as to the Green Sea were called, made Christian, taught, and ruled by Thomas the Apostle, of the Twelve, with whom was associated afterwards Judas the son of James, also of the Twelve." and Amrus thus:

The present passage is from the *Epitome*, the section headed *Dispositio regionum quarum quaelibet accepit manum sacerdotii sanctorum Apostolorum.*

[26] cf. John WORDSWORTH, *The Ministry of Grace* pp. 43–45, where the date is given as between 325 and 350. The original text has Judas Thomas where EBEDJESUS has Thomas alone.

[27] *Script: vet: nova Collectio*, tom. X. p. 154. that is in the *Collectio* (not the *Epitome* as ASSEMANI says) *Canonum* Tractatus IX. cap. I. *Quot patriarchae ab apostolos instituti sint in universo mundo.* cf. *B.O.*, *ibid.* p. 4. Both the *Epitome* and the *Collectio* were composed in the first half of the 14th century.

[28] cunctis orientis ecclesiis . . . *Script: vet: nova Collectio*, tom. X. p. 359. that is in *Liber Margaritae, de veritate Christianae religionis*, Tract: IV. cap. VI. cf. *ibid.* pp. xxiii, 342.

"Nathanael, who also is Bartholomew, together with Thomas and Lebbaeus of the Twelve, and with Addaeus, Mares, and Aghaeus of the Seventy, taught Nisibis, Mesopotamia, Mosul, Babylonia, Chaldaea, Arabia, the Orient, Nabathaea, Huzitis, and Persia; then went to Armenia the Greater and taught the inhabitants the Christian religion and built a church there; and finally travelled to the Indians and to the Sinae beyond; and his skin was torn off."[29] One or two other passages from these authors are relevant to our general subject, though they do not mention S. Thomas. Ebedjesus writes: "The Catholicos Saliba-Zacha created the Metropolitans of Heria and of Samarqand and of the Sinae. [Others] no doubt say that Achaeus and Silas founded those sees: but as regards order, the Metropolitans of Heria and India take precedence of the Sinae, and the Sinae of Samarqand. Afterwards Timotheus instituted six other sees of which four have ceased to exist, but the other two remain, namely Armenia which is the thirteenth and Sciam (Syria or Damascus) which is the fourteenth."[30] The order of precedence of these Metropolitan sees does not agree with that in the contemporary list of Amrus which is given below, but the early date of the Metropolitan see of the Sinae is of great interest. Of the Patriarchs named above Saliba-Zacha was consecrated A.D. 714; Achaeus, A.D. 411; Silas, A.D. 503; Timotheus, A.D. 780. The Metropolitan of the Sinae is mentioned again in a canon of the Patriarch Theodosius (A.D. 852–858),[31] but by the time the Portuguese reached India the see had been united with that of India. "But when the Portuguese landed in Cochin" says Trigault "this church of the Malabar mountains was ruled by Mar Jacob who used to sign thus, Metropolitan of India and China, as is shown too by his manuscript copy of the New Testament at the end of which is written, Mar Jacob Metropolitan of India and China wrote this book. In the same way Mar Joseph, successor of Mar Jacob, who died at Rome, used to sign, Mar Joseph Metropolitan of all India and China."[32] This last statement is of interest as affording some clue to the date of "the writings of the Bishopric of Serre." If Masina is China, those writings belong to a time when there was no independent Metropolitan see of China, that is to say probably to the fifteenth or sixteenth century, for China appears to have been reckoned a separate Metropolitan see by both Ebedjesus and Amrus just before the middle of the fourteenth century.

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[29] ad Indos & ulteriores Sinas migravit. Assemani, *B.O.*, vol. III. pt. ii. pp. 5. Assemani gives no reference for this passage of Amrus here, and I have not found it in the *Lives of the Patriarchs* to which he seems to refer on p. 518 (see p. 18 above). Grammatically it is Bartholomew who is made to go to India and China, but such a statement, Assemani says, is wholly unsupported by any other author. A passage beginning like the above but without reference to China or even to India will be found in Mares's Life of Addaeus (*De Patr. Nest.*, pt. I. 1899, p. 2): Orientem porro in fide excoluerunt Natanael filius Tolmai, Labbaeus cognomento Taddaeus, ac Thomas ex apostolis, et praeterea Addaeus, Mare et Ahaeus ex septuaginta. R. A. Lipsius (*Apokr. Apostelgeschichten*, 1883–1890, vol. 2. pt. 2, pp. 61, 62, 65, 104) quotes Amrus (on the authority of *B.O.*) for Bartholomew's visit to China, but does not mention China in relation to Thomas.

[30] *Script: vet: nova Collectio*, tom. X. p. 141. that is in the *Collectio*, Tract. VIII. cap. XV. *Quot sunt provinciae, quibus metropolitani praesunt, et a quonam unaquaeque instituta.*

Amrus ends his *Notes on the Patriarchs of the Eastern Church* by the statement that the whole number of "Patriarchs of the East" from Mar Mares the apostle down to his own time had been seventy-two, not counting seven usurpers, and that the metropolitan sees were twenty-seven. He adds a list of these sees "in order" as follows:

1. Metropolita Gondisaporis Elam (who has the privilege of ordaining the Patriarch)
2. Metropolita Nisibis
3. ,, Bassorae
4. ,, Mosul et Atur
5. ,, Arbelae & Ḥazzae
6. ,, Bâgarmae
7. ,, Hulwânae
8. ,, Ursâm
9. ,, Edessae
10. ,, Persidis
11. ,, Maru
12. ,, Herat
13. ,, Fatarbae
14. Metropolita Sinarum
15. ,, Indiarum
16. ,, Barda'
17. ,, Damasci
18. ,, Ray
19. ,, Ṭabaristanae
20. ,, Dailam
21. ,, Samarqandae
22. ,, Turchistanae
23. ,, Halahae
24. ,, Segestanae
25. ,, Ḥân Bâleq & Fâleq
26. ,, Tankut
27. ,, Kâsemgarae et Nuâkethae

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[31] *B.O.*, tom. III. pt. ii. pp. 438, 439. AMRUS dates Achaeus 418, Silas 505, Theodosius 854–859. cf. TRIGAULT, *Christ. Exped.* p. 125.

[32] Metropolita totius Indiae & Chinae. TRIGAULT, *Christ. Exped.* pp. 125, 126.

"And each one of these metropolitans has from twelve to six bishops under him. Those moreover who have the right to join in the election and ordination of the Patriarch are seven, namely [the first seven in the above list]. And all the aforesaid Patriarchs have been of one opinion, one faith, one profession of doctrine, which is the same which they received from the holy Apostles and has been handed down among them by a continuous tradition from one to another from that time to the present. . . . And this is the strongest proof of the truth of our faith, and that it is most ancient in the Christian religion, apostolic, venerable, and approved by the testimony of S. Peter the Apostle; and likewise that the tradition of the same faith, as we have explained above, was derived from his preaching, and that our history has its beginning from Mar Thomas, Mar Mares, and Mar Addaeus, disciples of Christ the Lord, to his name be adoration and praise."[33]

As regards the work of S. Thomas in India Assemani says: "Parthia, Persia, and India are assigned to Thomas by Hippolytus (*in Synopsi*), Nazianzene (*Orat.* 21.), and all the Martyrologies (Baron. in not. ad Martyrolog. Roman., 21 Decemb.)."[34]

Perhaps the earliest mention of Christianity in China is in Arnobius who wrote about A.D. 300. In a rhetorical passage, supporting the truth of Christianity by the evidence of the successes already achieved, he writes: "For the things done in India may be counted and come in for the purpose of reckoning, among the Seres, Persians, and Medes, in Arabia and Egypt, in Asia and Syria, among the Galatians, Parthians, Phrygians, in Achaia, Macedonia, Epirus, in every island and province upon which the sun at its rising or its setting shines. And lastly what has been done in the Mistress Rome herself, where although men are taken up with the arts of king Numa and with ancient superstitions, they have not hesitated to leave their native ways and join the Christian truth." [35] This seems to show that Arnobius believed that the Gospel had been preached to the Chinese before the end of the third century, but the statement appears to be quite unsupported by other evidence or early tradition.

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[33] *Maris Amri et Slibae de Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria* Pars Prior. *Maris ibn Salomonis de Patriarchis ecclesiae orientalis commentaria.* Rome, 1899. (The lives of Addaeus and Mares contain no mention of China.) Pars II. *Amri et Slibae de Patr: eccles: orient: commentaria.* Rome, 1896, 1897. The above passage is in Pars. II. pp. 72, 73 of the Latin version.

[34] *B.O.*, tom. III. pt. ii. p. 25. China is not mentioned in BARONIUS (ed. 1613) either under 13 July (the Translation of S. Thomas) or 21 December. Professor BURKITT writes: "The venerable Acts of Thomas have appeared in many forms, but in none of them, so far as I know, is there any mention of China. They are a work written originally in Syriac, at or near Edessa, almost certainly by a follower of Bardesanes. They were repeatedly re-edited and the Greek, Latin, and Arabic texts are all ultimately derived from the Syriac. There is another legend of S. Thomas in Quantaria, extant in Ethiopic and in Greek. This is independent of the Syriac Acts, but combined with them in the Ethiopic form. There is nothing in it about China."

Cosmas (A.D. 535) says: "In the island of Taprobana (? Ceylon) in inner India, where the Indian Ocean is, there is a Christian church there and clergy and believers, but I do not know if [there are Christians] beyond also. In the same way also to the place called Male, where pepper grows, and in the place named Kalliana, and a bishop is elected from Persia." [36]

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[35] *Arnobii Disputationum adversus Gentes Libri Octo*, Rome, 1542, fol. xviiv°. cf. YULE, *Cathay and the Way thither*, vol. I. p. 102. To the kindness of Professor BURKITT again I owe the following early notice of the Chinese. He writes: "In the Dialogue *De Fato* by Philip the disciple of Bardaisan (Bardesanes), an Edessan work of the 3rd century, we have a curious list of national customs beginning with those of the *Shērāyē*. These are the Chinese (*Seres*), as appears from the fact that from the same word comes the Syriac for silk. In accordance with some other ancient evidence these *Shērāyē* are represented as extremely virtuous—'In the whole country of the *Shērāyē* there are no idols, nor harlots, nor murderers, nor murdered.' The argument is that this cannot come from their individual astrological Fates, but must be from their Free-will. Presently the author of the Dialogue points out that the Christians in every country give up their vicious national customs when they become Christians. He instances the Parthians, the Jews, those from Kashan (Sogdiana or Turkestan) and those from the Euphrates Valley. He does not claim any converts from the Shērāyē, so that the Gospel according to this author does not yet seem to have reached China at all."

[36] *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes* edited by E. O. WINSTEDT, 1909, p. 119. ASSEMANI (*B.O.* tom. III. pt. ii. p. 437.) suggests that "beyond" means Southern China. COSMAS calls China Tzinista (Τζινίστα) and was the first to describe it accurately as the limit of the world eastward (ὁ 'Ωκεανὸς γὰρ αὐτὴν κυκλοῖ κατὰ ἀνατολάς).

Thus it seems that there is but one small scrap of evidence —and that not of a very convincing sort—of the preaching of the Gospel in China before the seventh century, and we must be content to confess that the Nestorian Mission of A.D. 635 is the first certain point in our knowledge of Chinese Christianity. That the story of the visit of S. Thomas to China is of late origin will seem to most persons to be beyond dispute, and it is not difficult to guess how it may have arisen. De Gouvea gives us a hint of the origin when he remarks that a conjecture that it was Cathay to which S. Thomas went was "all the more probable since the Christians in the said Catayo are of the sect of Nestorius just as those of Serra are." That is to say that the story may owe its origin to the discovery that there were Syriac-speaking Christians in China, and to the assumption that as S. Thomas was the evangelist of other Syriac-speaking churches he must be also of the Chinese. To the overwhelming negative evidence—the notorious argument from silence—that the tradition was unknown before the end of the thirteenth century, we have to add one small positive statement. John of Monte Corvino who knew Persia and the Nestorian Christians there well and left Tauris in 1291, and after that "was in India, at the church of S. Thomas the Apostle, for thirteen months" and so must surely have heard all that was known or related about the Apostle, yet wrote from China in 1305: "To these regions there never came any Apostle or disciple of the Apostles."[37] As far as we know Christians began to grow common (whole tribes are said to have been Christian) along the northern frontiers of China in the twelfth century or earlier, and thence they penetrated China Proper, as we call it, itself. Professor Pelliot writes that during the Liao and Chin dynasties whole groups of Christian families seem to have lived from Kan-su to South Manchuria, and some of them had become sinicized. We hear of a Visitor at Peking about the year 1240, an Archdeacon in another town in 1245, and of a resident Metropolitan at Peking in 1275. All this was of course well known at the headquarters of the Nestorian Church, but it must have been brought home to them with special emphasis when in 1281 a man born and bred in China was elected Patriarch; and it is in the writings of Ebedjesus who wrote under the direction of this Patriarch that the first dim trace of the story of the visit of S. Thomas appears. Just about the same time (in 1282) an embassy from the Christians at Quilon reached Peking.[38] Here they found a fully organized branch of their own Nestorian church in a city which they heard called not Peking but Khan-baliq (Cambaluc) and which they had reached very probably on Chinese ships. It was not many years later that Ibn Batuta wrote that " Chinese ships only are used in navigating the Sea of China." It is not difficult to see in this a possible origin for the story that S. Thomas was taken in Chinese vessels (" the Chinese being at that time masters of the sea ") to China, that he reached a city called Camballe and preached the Gospel and built churches there. Peking was not called Khan-baliq in S. Thomas's day (nor for centuries after that), nor were the Chinese then masters of the sea. And when we add that there is, as we have seen, some reason to suppose that the Histories in which the story appears were not written till after the middle of the fourteenth century, we seem to have some ground for belief that the tradition arose in the fourteenth or late thirteenth century and was further developed perhaps in the fifteenth century in India.

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[37] cf. p. 172 below. Cathay and China were no doubt two different lands to John; but it must be remembered that he had probably travelled through and had daily opportunities of hearing of Mangi or south China.

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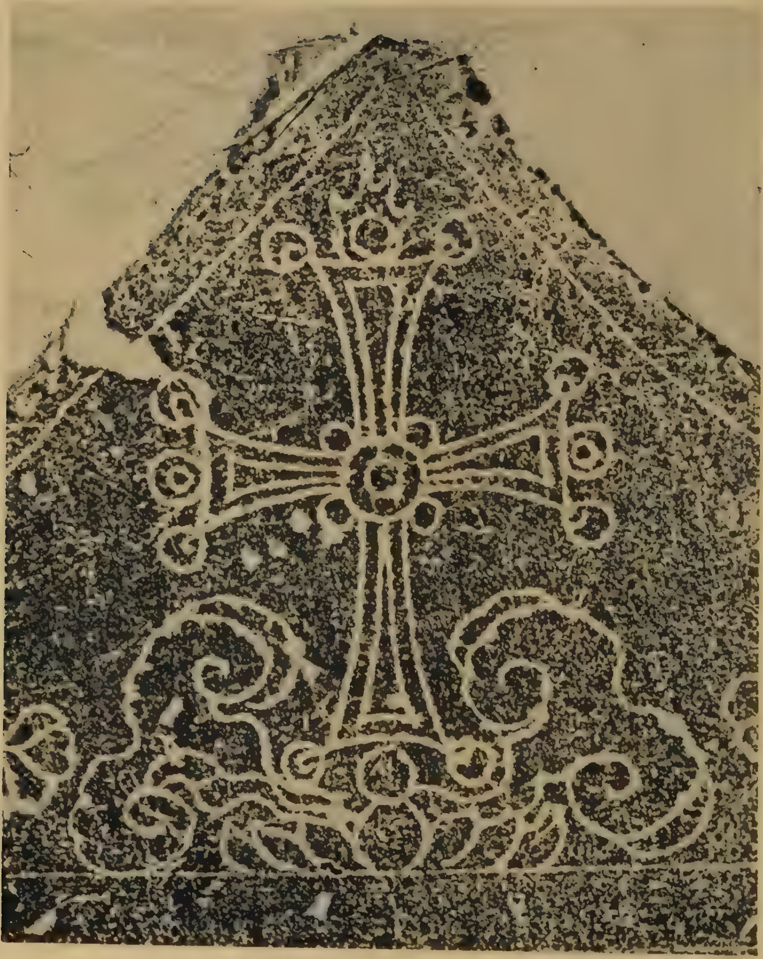
[38] *Yüan shih* c. 12 fol. 4r°. " In the ninth month . . . *hsin-yu* (7 October, 1282) . . . the southern foreigners beyond the sea all sent ambassadors to come with tribute. The Chief of the kingdom of Chü-lan (Kulam or Quilon) sent ambassadors to deliver a letter and to present precious things and one black ape. Mang-ang, Chief of the kingdom of Na-wang, sent four men as ambassadors but delivered no letter because there was no one who could read or write in his kingdom. . . . Wu-tsa-êrh P'ieh-li-ma, Chief of the yeh-li-k'o-wên (*i.e.* Christians) of the kingdom of Chü-lan also sent ambassadors to deliver a letter and to present a necklace of jewels and two flasks of drugs." cf. *Yüan shih* c. 210 fol. 7v°; where the same embassy and the negotiations which led to it are described, the Chief being called Wu-tsa-êrh Sa-li-ma; *Yüan wên lei* c. 41 fol. 20v°; DEVÉRIA, *Notes d'Épigraphie Mongole-Chinoise*, 1897, p. 52; etc.

There remain unexplained the allusions to the Sinae in the Breviary, and the long-existing Metropolitan see of the Sinae. The Metropolitans of the Sinae may have been often, perhaps for centuries, non-resident, until the former existence of Christians in the Chinese Empire was forgotten. No allusion, as far as I know, to the early Nestorian mission to China has yet been found in later Nestorian writers.

Outside India the story of S. Thomas in China seems hardly to have got beyond the rudimentary stage represented by the words " et Sinensium " of Ebedjesus, Amrus's " et ulteriores Sinas ", and the vague phrases in the Breviary.

For the first clear and undisputed proof of the arrival of Christians in China we must turn from the headquarters of the Nestorian Church and from India to China herself.



THE CROSS ON THE CHRISTIAN MONUMENT AT HSI-AN, A.D. 781.

FULL SIZE.

Fig. 2.

facing p. 27.

CHAPTER II

THE T'ANG DYNASTY

(1) THE CHRISTIAN MONUMENT AT HSI-AN [1]

Early in 1625, perhaps about the beginning of March, trenches were being dug for the foundations of some building near the district city of Chou-chih, thirty or forty miles to the west or south-west of the city of Hsi-an in Shensi (Shàn-hsi), when the workmen came upon a great slab of stone buried several feet beneath the surface of the ground.[2] This appears to be the most probable account of the place and date of the discovery of the Christian Monument according to the best evidence hitherto published, though, as will be seen below, it is now very seriously called in question. There is also some doubt about the purpose for which the digging was being done. One author says that a grave was being dug for the infant child of a Prefect of Hsi-an; and again Etienne Faber was told by an old native of the district that it was well known that for several winters it had been observed that snow would not lie on a certain small patch of ground, the spot under which the stone was afterwards found.[3] In any case the stone was carefully raised and cleaned, and was then seen to be covered with an inscription of the T'ang dynasty in Chinese and in some foreign characters, of beautiful workmanship and in a perfect state of preservation.

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[1] A version of the inscription on this famous monument is inserted here because no book on early Christianity in China can be complete without it, and not because I have anything new to say about it or imagine that the mistakes of my predecessors are all corrected. The complete text will be found in H. Havret, *Variétés Sinologiques* 7, 1895, in full-size facsimile; in reduced facsimile in J. E. Heller, *Das Nestorianische Denkmal in Singan fu*, 1897; and accurately printed in *JNCBRAS*, 1910; and (without Syriac) in *Taisho Tripitaka*, vol. 54, pp. 1289*a*-1290*b*, and in P'an Shên, *Ching chiao pei wên chu shih*, 1925. Of the many works on the subject the following may be mentioned: E. Diaz jr. S.J., *T'ang ching chiao pei sung chêng ch'üan*, Wu-lin, 1644 (ed. 1878); A. Wylie, *The Nestorian Tablet in Se-ngan foo* (in *North-China Herald*, 1854, 1855, reprinted in *Journal of the Am. Or. Soc.*, 1856, pp. 277–336 and *Chinese Researches*, pt. ii. pp. 24–77); J. Legge, *The Nestorian Monument of Hsi-an Fu*, 1888; H. Havret S.J., *La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou* (in *Var. Sin.* 7. 1895, 12.1897, 20.1902); J. E. Heller S.J., as above; T.-J. Lamy et A. Gueluy, *Le Monument Chrétien de Si-ngan-fou*, 1897; P. Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*, 1916; C. E. Couling, *The Luminous Religion*, 1925; P'an Shên, *Ching chiao pei wên chu shih*, 1925; I. Ying-ki (Ying Ch'ien-li) and Barry O'Toole, *The Nestorian Tablet at Sianfu*, 1929. Several of the earliest versions are reprinted in *Var. Sin.* 20. cf. Pelliot, *T'oung-pao*, 1914, pp. 624–626; L. Giles, *Bulletin Sch. Or. Stud.*, 1917, pp. 93–96, 1918, pp. 16–29, 1920, pp. 39–49, (pt. iv) pp. 15–26. All that is known of the Nestorian Mission will be found in the inscription and in the other documents translated below, and so the preliminary remarks are devoted to the history and description of the stone itself.

[2] Interim eodem anno [1625] in Pago Cheuche decem leucis a Metropoli distante lapis repertus est. This is quoted by Havret (*Var. Sin.* 12. p. 70) from Trigault, *Progressus et Incrementi Fidei*

Such a discovery could not fail to attract the greatest attention, and it was reported at once to the Magistrate of Chou-chih or, as some say, to the Prefect of Hsi-an, who came to see the monument and gave orders for its removal to the Ch'ung-jên ssŭ, a monastery which lay on the north side of the Hu hsien road about a mile and a half outside the west gate of Hsi-an. There the stone was set up and there it remained until 2 October, 1907, when it was placed in the Pei-lin, a collection of ancient inscriptions on stone in the

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. . . *apud Sinas lib. V.* cap. 5, where the remark is repeated on the following page: in Pago Cheuxe, . . . inciderunt fossores in lapidem. HAVRET also translates (*ibid.* p. 34) the following from BARTOLI, *Historia della Compagnia di Giesu. La Cina terza parte dell'Asia*, 1663, lib. iv. p. 794: Hor in questa Prouincia di Scensi, e in questa sua maestosa Metropoli Sigàn, si apparechiauano i Padri a portar la luce dell'Euangelio, quando pochi mesi innanzi al lor giungerui (e non, pochi anni prima del lor entrar nella Cina, come altri ha scritto: ed è fallo d'almen quarantacinque anni) aprendose doue gittare i fondamenti di non so qual nuoue edificio presso a Ceuce, città non delle grandi, vn qualche trenta miglia lungi della Metropoli in ver Leuante, i cauatori s'auuennero in certe rouine di fabrica, e fra esse nello scassinarle, diedero in una gran piastra di marmo, que tratta fuori, e rinetta con diligenza, si vide tutta esser messa a caratteri, altri Cinesi, altri di stranissima formatione, niuno sapea di che lingua: ma gli vni, e gli altri, quanto all'intaglio, opera di mano eccellente.

[3] BARTOLI, *La Cina, l.c.* cf. *Var. Sin.* 12. p. 77.

grounds of the Confucian College (Fu hsüeh) inside the south gate of Hsi-an.

Among those who had seen the monument when it was found in 1625 was a scholar named Chang Kêng-yü. This man had met Ricci at Peking eighteen years before and at once recognized the doctrine of this ancient inscription as practically identical with the Gospel which he had preached. He had a rubbing or copy of the inscription made and sent it by special messenger to his Christian friend Li Chih-tsao [4] who was then living in retirement at the foot of the wooded hills west of the West Lake at Hang-chou in the far-off

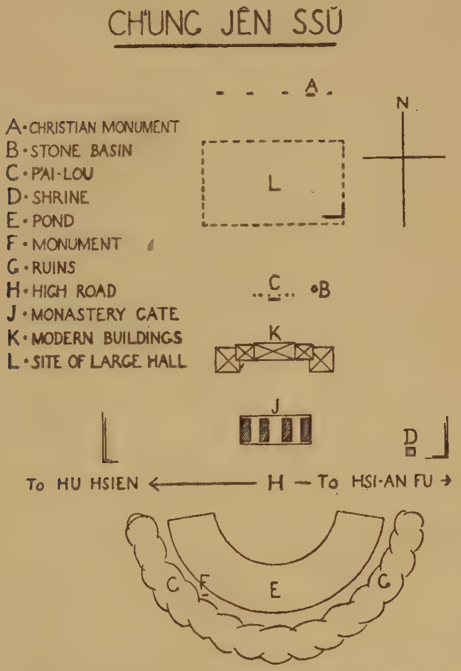
CH'UNG JÊN SSŬ
A · CHRISTIAN MONUMENT
B · STONE BASIN
C · P'AI-LOU
D · SHRINE
E · POND
F · MONUMENT
G · RUINS
H · HIGH ROAD
J · MONASTERY GATE
K · MODERN BUILDINGS
L · SITE OF LARGE HALL
A
N
L
C
B
K
J
D
To HU HSIEN
H
To HSI-AN FU
C
F
E
C

FIG. 3.—Plan of the Ch'ung-jên Monastery.

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[4] A well known scholar and mathematician, called in the early Jesuit books Dr. Leo or Lingotsuon. He was a native of Jên-ho and his other names were O-ts'un, Chên-chih, and Liang an chü shih.

province of Chê-chiang.[5] Li lost no time in having the inscription, which can hardly have reached him before the latter half of April, printed with an explanatory note which bears a date corresponding to 12 June, 1625.[6]

Shensi had been visited before 1620 by Jules Aléni, but there was no permanent mission station in the province until this very year 1625, when Nicholas Trigault went there at the invitation of a Christian named Philip Wang (Wang Chêng). As soon as Trigault reached Wang's house at San-yüan in April he fell desperately ill, and it was not until October that he was able to accompany his friend to Hsi-an to make arrangements for the purchase of a house and the building of a church; and then, in October 1625, it probably was that he, first of all Europeans, set eyes on the newly discovered and already famous monument.[7]

The monument is formed of one slab of stone. The upper part contains the title in nine large characters surmounted by the cross (Fig. 2) and enclosed in entwined dragons. The lower part, containing the inscription and lists of names on the front face and the two edges, measures about 3 ft. 4 in. wide by 11·3 in. thick at the bottom, 3 ft. 0·3 in. by 10·5 in. at the top, and is about 6 ft. 5 in. high. The height

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[5] Il Gouernator dunque, adorato quel marmo, . . . il mandò trasportar di colà in vn tempio di Taosi, vn miglio presso a Sigàn, e quiui alzarlo su vn piedestallo, sotto vn bel campanuccio portato di quattro colonne : e al par di lui, vn altra piastra di marmo, conincisaui dentro vna ben composta memoria del ritrouamento di quella antichità presso a Ceuce, colà dou'egli era Gouernatore. Tutta Sigàn vi trasse . . . E già lo stesso era auuenuto a que'di Ceuce, senza trouarsi chi di loro si apponesse il vero, fuor che, come a Dio piacque, vn solo del secondo ordine de'letterati, che colà chiamano Chiugin . . . e per messaggio a posta l'inviò fino al Hanceu al Dottor Lione suo vecchio amico. Bartoli, *La Cina* p. 795. It is no doubt true, as Havret says, that Bartoli had access to all the documents and that his authority is therefore great; but it is curious and disappointing that, so far as original documents have yet been published, there is no detailed or indisputably lucid account of the exact place or date of the discovery.

[6] Copies of this *editio princeps* are preserved at Paris (nouveau fond 2982. cf. M. Courant, *Catalogue des livres chinois* No. 1188, 1189) and, possibly, at Zikawei near Shanghai and in Rome.

[7] Trigault, Letter of 13 September, 1627, in C. Dehaisnes, *Vie du Père Nicolas Trigault*, 1864, pp. 281, 282. cf. *Var. Sin.* 12. p. 62. I owe my ability to see Dehaisnes's book, which is in few English libraries, to the kindness of Dr W. P. Yetts.

CH'ANG-AN AND HSI-AN.

—— Ancient palace and city walls, begun 582, finished 654.

— — Modern city walls.

✠ Christian Monastery of 638 in the I-ning Quarter.

× Position of the Christian Monument, 1625–1907, in the Ch'ung-jên Monastery.

○ Position of the Christian Monument since 1907 in the Pei lin.

A. Ta nei, the Emperor's Palace.

B. Huang ch'êng, the Imperial City.

C. Hsing-ch'ing Palace.

D. Part of Ta-ming Palace.

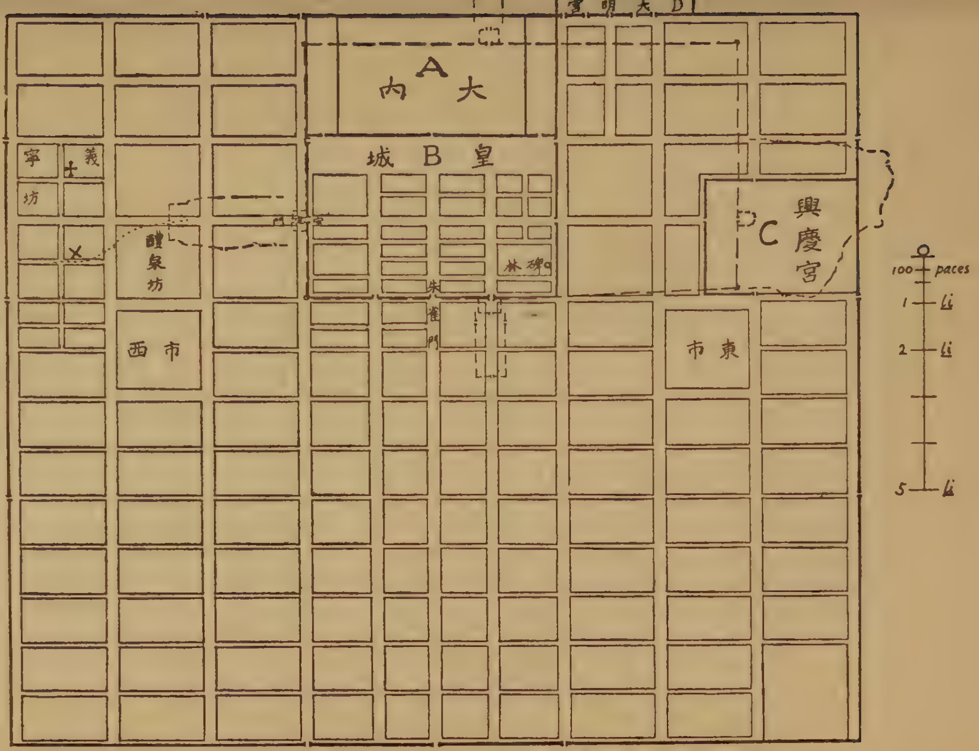
大明宮 D
A 大内
B 皇城
C 興慶宮
義寧坊
醴泉坊
西市
東市
碑林
朱雀門
100 paces
1 li
2 li
5 li

FIG. 4.

of the whole stone is about 9 ft. 1 in. It is called, as will be seen, a "grand tablet" (*fêng pei*), a term which is said to be commonly and almost technically applied to tomb-stones,[8] but the contents of the inscription indicate that this was not a tomb-stone.

By a curious coincidence the temple in which the stone was set up in 1625 appears to be not far from the site of the first Church which was built in 638, within the huge limits of Ch'ang-an though more than a mile outside the modern city of Hsi-an. The history of the stone before 1625 is not known.[9] No allusion to it has been noticed, I believe, in native books of the Sung, Yüan, or Ming (before 1625) dynasties, and the perfect condition in which it was found makes it likely that it was either buried on purpose or thrown down and allowed to bury itself soon after the edict of 845 (p. 70 below) which put an end to so many Buddhist and other foreign religious houses.

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[8] *Tz'ŭ yüan* s.v.

[9] Pelliot in *T'oung-pao*, 1914, p. 625, promises to show that the inscription was not found at Chou-chih but on the spot where it was set up in 1625, "c'est-à-dire en fait sur l'emplacement qu'elle avait toujours occupé, dans l'enceinte même du monastère fondé au VIIe siècle par A-lo-pen." It is hard to express an opinion on this until the evidence and arguments are published. It would probably be easy to reconstruct the ancient city of Ch'ang-an on the spot, but I am not aware that anyone has yet published such a reconstruction related to a scientific survey of the existing city and surrounding country; and the result obtained from the best maps at my disposal places the monastery of 638 about half a mile to the north of the Ch'ung-jên monastery. Against the contemporary statement of (apparently) Trigault himself that the stone was found near Chou-chih are to be set first the contemporary but vaguer statement that it was found at Ch'ang-an, and secondly the definite statement of Lin T'ung, in his *Lai chai chin shih k'ê k'ao lüeh* of the second half of the 17th century, that it was found "south of the Ch'ung-jên monastery." And this last authority is discounted by the erroneous date which he gives. cf. *Chin shih ts'ui pien* c. 102 fol. 6v°; *Var. Sin.* 12. p. 393. There is some ground for thinking that the stone was found in 1623, but not in the Ch'ung-chêng period as Lin says. It is important to notice that Havret on the authority of the *Ch'ang an hsien chih* (*Var. Sin.* 12. p. 131), which is not at my disposal, identifies the Ch'ung-jên Monastery with the ancient Ch'ung-shêng Monastery, saying that the name was changed in 1477. The *Liang ching hsin chi* (fol. 12v°) says that the Ch'ung-shêng Monastery was in the south-west corner of the Ch'ung-tê quarter and was founded in the first Jên-shou year (601). The *Ch'ang-an chih* c. 9 fol. 9v° adds the note: "The monastery has an east and a west gate. [The west gate] was originally the Chi-tu nunnery founded by Chün, prince Hsiao of Ch'in, who gave his house for the purpose. The east gate was originally the Tao-tê nunnery founded in the Sui time. In the 23rd Chêng-kuan year (649) the Chi-tu convent was moved to the Hsiu-shan convent in [the south-east corner of] the An-yeh quarter, and the site was taken for the Ling-pao convent to accommodate the concubines of T'ai Tsung who were all made nuns. [One at least of these ladies, the future Wu

The Syriac portions of the inscription were translated in 1629, or earlier, by J. Terrenz, one of the missionaries attached to the court at Peking. His transcription of the Syriac names is now of value in restoring those that were obliterated by an inscription cut on the edge of the stone in 1859, as no rubbing of the edges of the stone made before that date is known to exist.

The difficulty of the style and the obscurity of the allusions have made the translation of the Chinese text no easy matter. The first extant version was in Latin, made in 1625 by "one of the Society of Jesus."[10] The best English versions are

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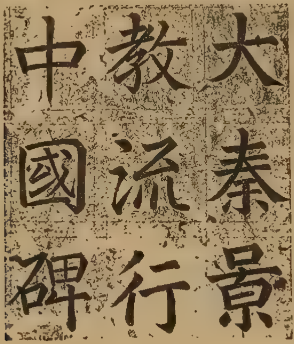
Hou, is said to have lived as a nun at the Kan-yeh convent. cf. *Chiu t'ang shu* c. 6 fol. 11°.] The name of the Tao-tê convent was transferred to the T'ai-yüan convent in the Chia-hsiang quarter, and the site was taken for the Ch'ung-shêng kung to be a subsidiary temple for T'ai Tsung. In the second I-fêng year (677) the two were combined to form the Ch'ung-shêng Monastery." The Ch'ung-tê was the fourth quarter south of the south-west corner of the Imperial city and this Ch'ung-shêng Monastery must have been nearly 9 *li* from the supposed site of the Christian monastery in the I-ning quarter. These details are worth recording although the identification of the Ch'ung-jên and Ch'ung-shêng Monasteries is, as PELLIOT tells me, a mistake. And in any case PELLIOT's opinion, based presumably on his exceptional knowledge of the published and unpublished documents in the Jesuit archives, which I have not been able to examine, must not be lightly set aside.

[10] Transumptum lapidis antiquissimi ante annos 994 erecti hoc anno 1625 inuenti in regno sinarum in prouincia xàn sȳ in ciuit . . . latine factum a quodam Soc. Iesu fere de uerbo ad uerbum ut frasis et figure huis (*sic*) lingue seruarentur.

This translation which was sent to Portugal by J. RHO and is now at Rome is ascribed to RHO himself by CHAVANNES and PELLIOT, *Traité Man.* p. 15. HAVRET (cf. *Var. Sin.* 12 pp. 57, 58, 84, 325, 326) ascribed it to TRIGAULT for these reasons. RHO had only reached China in 1624; a Latin version by TRIGAULT is actually mentioned in *l'Advis certain*, 1628; TRIGAULT was in Hsi-an in 1625 and had been charged by his superiors to examine the stone more carefully; and while RHO was a Milanese TRIGAULT was French, and the Latin version contains the words *nort*, *oest*, and *lest*. It is however to be remarked that the Visitor, E. DIAZ, writing on 1 March, still those of Wylie and Legge, though Saeki has introduced improvements in some places.[11]

TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION



大秦景教流行中國碑

FIG. 5.

A Monument of the diffusion through the Middle Kingdom of the Brilliant Teaching of Ta-ch'in.

The eulogy on the monument of the diffusion through the

1626, regrets that it has not yet been possible to send home a version, but he hopes soon to do so as TRIGAULT is now engaged in obtaining more exact details; and the forms *nort*, *oest*, and *est* seem to be possible in Portuguese or Italian and are counterbalanced by Italian forms like *realem* and *Magestatem*. It is even conceivable that the home authorities having received RHO's version had written to ask for something more intelligible! In any case this version is in RHO's handwriting, is corrected in the same hand throughout, and is followed by a note in Portuguese which, though a piece is torn out, seems to apologize for the imperfection of the translation on the ground of the difficulty of the language and style and of the great haste in which it had been done without careful revision in the short time allowed by his superiors. This note (for help in the deciphering of which I am obliged to Dr Henry GUILLEMARD and Mr H. J. CHAYTOR) is signed Jacome Rhò, and it is hard to doubt that the translation is his own work. I am indebted to P. J. de GHELLINCK S.J. of Louvain for kindly obtaining photographs of this extremely interesting document for me.

It is tantalizing that the name of the town where the stone was found should have been left blank, but as far as it goes the blank seems to me to favour Chou-chih. RHO would not so easily have forgotten the name of the famous Hsi-an. But this consideration is in any case of little weight.

[11] Cf. note on p. 27 above. My own version and notes have had the advantage of several kind criticisms and corrections from Professor PELLIOT, but must not be regarded as expressing his opinions on the whole.

Middle Kingdom of the Brilliant Teaching: with an orderly account.

Recorded by Ching-ching a monk of the Ta-ch'in Monastery.

Adam priest and country-bishop and fapshi of Zinistan.[12]

Behold! The unchanging in perfect repose, before the first and without beginning; the inaccessible in spiritual purity, after the last and wonderfully living; he who holds the mysterious source of life and creates, who in his original majesty imparts his mysterious nature to all the sages; is this not the mysterious Person of our Three in One, the true Lord without beginning, A-lo-hê[13] (*Alāhā*)? He set out the figure of ten[14] to define the four quarters; he set the original breath in motion and produced the two principles. Darkness and void were transformed and the sky and earth were separated. He made and perfected all things; he fashioned and established the first man. He gave him special goodness and just temperament, he commanded him to have dominion over the ocean of creatures. The lofty primitive nature was humble and not puffed up, the simple and great heart was at first without lust. It came to pass that So-tan (*Satan*), propagating falsehood, borrowed the adornment of the pure spirit. He insinuated [the idea of] equal greatness [with God] into the original good; he introduced [the theory of] the mysterious identity [of being and not-being] into the evil that had resulted.[15]

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[12] Ta-ch'in (otherwise known as Li-chien or Fu-lin (Rome), is used rather vaguely for the Roman Orient, and here perhaps more particularly for Syria, the original home of the Church, rather than for the home of these (probably Iranian) missionaries. For Ching-ching see pp. 57, 68 below; and for the Ta-ch'in Monastery pp. 39, 67, 71. Wherever the stone may have been first set up, Ching-ching was "a monk of the Ta-ch'in Monastery" at *Ch'ang-an* (p. 68 below). Ching-ching and Adam were the same person. *Fapshi* is the Chinese Buddhist title *fa-shih*. Dr L. D. BARNETT has very kindly found the sounds in question written *phab shi* in a contemporary bilingual MS. in the Stein Collection; and cf. PELLIOT, "Deux titres Bouddhiques" in *T'oung-pao*, 1911, pp. 664–670. Zinistan is China. cf. *T'oung-pao*, 1913, p. 428. All words in italics represent Syriac in the original, except those in brackets and the name of a book on p. 40.

[13] This transcription of the Syriac for God is borrowed from the Buddhists, who had used it for *arhat* in the *Miao fa lien hua ching* of the 5th century. cf. HAVRET, *Var. Sin.* 19. p. 7.

[14] That is, a cross; explained by non-Christian Chinese scholars as an allusion to the Christian cross. cf. p. 7 above.

In consequence of this three hundred and sixty five sects followed side by side crossing one another's tracks, vying one with another in weaving the web of religion. Some point to material things that they may trust to them as lord; some empty existence of reality that they may confound the two;[16] some pray and sacrifice that they may obtain happiness; some boast goodness to deceive men. The thoughts of the mind never rested, the passions of the heart were ever in motion. For all their activity they attained nothing, being consumed by their own feverish zeal.[17] They deepened darkness on the road of perdition, and wandered long from the [way of] return to happiness.[18]

Upon this the divided Person of our Three in One, the brilliant and reverend Mi-shih-hê (*Messiah*),[19] veiling and hiding his true majesty, came to earth in the likeness of man. An angel proclaimed the good news; a virgin gave birth to the sage in Ta-ch'in. A bright star told of good fortune; Persians saw its glory and came to offer gifts. He brought to completion the letter of the ancient law of the twenty-four sages, regulating the state on the great principle; he founded the new teaching unexpressed in words of the most holy Spirit of the Three in One, modelling the practice of virtue on right faith. He laid down the rule of the eight conditions, cleansing from the defilement of sense and perfecting truth. He opened the gates of the three which abide, he disclosed life and abolished death. He hung up a brilliant sun to take by storm the halls of darkness; the wiles of the devil were then all destroyed. He rowed the boat of mercy to go up to the palaces of light; those who have souls were then completely saved. His mighty works thus finished, he ascended at midday to the spiritual sphere.[20]

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[15] The version of this sentence is by Professor Pelliot, who has kindly sent it with a careful explanation which it would be difficult to summarize without the use of Chinese characters. He quotes an apposite verse by Lü Pên-chung of the Sung dynasty: *Yu wu tzŭ ming t'ung*, "Being and not-being are in themselves mysteriously identical." "Being and not-being" are alluded to just below, with reference to Buddhism, in the words *k'ung yu*, "empty existence of reality." There are fatal objections to all the earlier versions with which I am acquainted; but the first clause is correctly explained by P'an Shên, *Ching chiao pei wên chu shih* fol. 3r°, who also agrees with Diaz and Pelliot in his explanation of the clause descriptive of Buddhism, "They take vacuity and existence and confound the two without distinction."

[16] A rather obscure phrase which Havret translated *immergebantur superstitione*, without quoting good authority. cf. L. Giles, *Bull. S.O.S.*, 1918, p. 18. The "two" are reality and vacuity.

[17] This clause is taken from Dr L. Giles's notes to which I am much indebted in many places.

[18] Or, They deepened darkness and lost the way; they wandered long and put away return.

[19] The words *fên shên*, "divided body (Person)," have been variously understood. Havret found them regularly used when a spiritual being appears to two or more places at once or in human form; *e.g.* "Chin-kang-ch'uang p'u-sa *fên shên* became a nun." from *Fa yüan chu lin*. MM. Chavannes and Pelliot, *Traité Man.* pp. 17, 34, on the other hand show that *fên shên* is there to be translated "divided body." Diaz, *T'ang ching chiao* etc. fol. 22v°. also explains "this is God the second Person." It is to be observed however that in the *Gloria in excelsis* (p. 55 below) Christ is not described as *fên shên* but as *ying shên*, or as "the Son," or (as here) Mi-shih-hê.

Of scriptures there were left twenty seven books which explain the great reformation to unlock the barriers of the understanding. The water and the Spirit of religious baptism wash away vain glory and cleanse one pure and white. The figure of ten which is held as a seal lightens the four quarters to unite all without exception. The wood struck awakes a sound of pity and kindness; the worship eastward hastens men along the road of life and glory.[21] They keep the beard, because they maintain outward relationships; they shave the crown, because they have no inward passions. They do not keep male or female slaves, reckoning honourable and mean among men alike; they do not amass goods and wealth, displaying devotion and generosity among themselves. Purification is made perfect by seclusion and meditation; self-restraint grows strong by silence and watching. At the seven hours there is ritual praise, greatly helping the living and the dead; in seven days there is one offering, washing the heart to restore purity.

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[20] In this passage "the ancient law" is the Old Testament (cf. p. 55 below); the "eight conditions" are probably the Beatitudes; "the three which abide" are Faith, Hope, and Charity. "He hung up a brilliant sun" is presumably a veiled allusion to the crucifixion. The phrase is not unknown to the Buddhists. Thus a building in the ancient monastery of Ling-yin near Hang-chou had as a motto over the door *Hui jih kao hsüan* "The sun of wisdom is hung on high." cf. *Ling yin ssŭ chih* (in *Wu lin chang ku ts'ung pien* xi) maps fol. 7; and c. 2 fol. 6r°, *hsü chih* c. 2 fol. 20v°. And *hsüan fo jih* "to hang up the Buddha sun" is also found in a poem by Kuan-hsiu of the early 10th century (in *P'ei wên yün fu*). cf. also p. 89 below. The cross above this inscription is surmounted by a flaming sun (cf. Fig. 2); and the light from the Cross is known to English hymn-writers (From the Cross the radiance streaming; etc.), but I have not been able to trace any tradition of a supernatural light having appeared at the time of the crucifixion. For the "boat of mercy" cf. p. 54, and for that and for Baptism (just below) cf. *Traité Man.* pp. 35, 91, 96. In this Manichean treatise a considerable number of parallels to this inscription, for the most part discussed in the notes, will be found.

[21] The Nestorians used wooden boards instead of bells. cf. *Book of Governors*, II. p. 244: "The sacristan rose up to beat the board to summon the congregation for the office of the night," For the

The true and eternal way is wonderful and hard to name; its merits and use are manifest and splendid, forcing us to call it the brilliant teaching. Yet the way without a prophet will not flourish; a prophet without the way will not be great. When way and prophet match and tally all under the sky is civilized and enlightened.

When T'ai Tsung, the polished Emperor, was beginning his prosperous reign in glory and splendour, with light and wisdom ruling the people, there was in the land of Ta-ch'in one of high virtue called A-lo-pên, who, auguring by the blue clouds,[22] carried the true Scriptures; watching the harmony of the winds, hastened to meet difficulties and dangers. In the ninth Chêng-kuan year (635) he came to Ch'ang-an. The Emperor sent the Minister of State, Duke Fang Hsüan-ling, to take an escort to the west suburb to meet the guest and bring him to the palace. When the books had been translated in the library and the doctrine examined in his private apartments, [the Emperor] thoroughly understood

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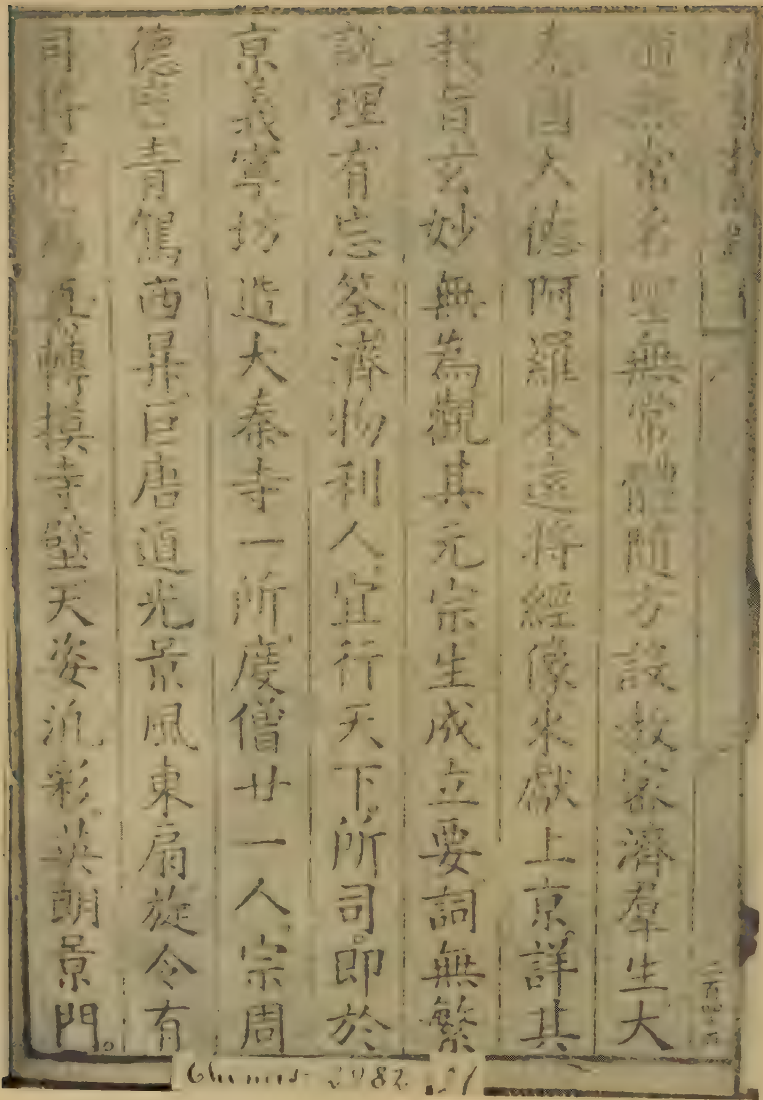
worship towards the east cf. p. 146 below, J. WORDSWORTH, *Ministry of Grace*, p. 44, who says that the first rule in the Edessene *Teaching of the Apostles* (4th century) is "Pray ye towards the East." and *Script. vet. nova coll.*, X. p. 361, "Apostolicus canon est adoratio orientem versus."

[22] The words "polished," "glory," "wisdom" form part of the titles of T'ai Tsung (the "prophet" of the preceding paragraph); and so with the emperors below. The identification of A-lo-pên with the Syriac *rabban*, first suggested by YULE, *Cathay* I. p. xciv, is accepted by HAVRET and others. PELLIOT points out that the phonetic equivalence is not very good, *pên* suggesting rather an original *pan* or *pun*. The phrases about the clouds and wind have nothing to do with the weather conditions of the journey, but refer to omens of a virtuous emperor. cf. HAVRET, *La Stèle Chrétienne : quelques notes extraites d'un commentaire inédit* pp. 22–24.



道無常名聖無常體隨方設教密濟羣生大
秦國大德阿羅本遠將經像來獻上京詳其
教旨玄妙無為觀其元宗生成立要詞無繁
說理有忘筌濟物利人宜行天下所司即於
京義寧坊造大秦寺一所度僧廿一人宗周
德喪青駕西昇巨唐道光景風東扇旋令有
司將帝寫真轉摸寺壁天姿汎彩英朗景門。

Chinois 2982 . 51

A PAGE FROM THE FIRST PRINTED TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE CHRISTIAN MONUMENT—A.D. 1625

Fig. 6.

their propriety and truth and specially ordered their preaching and transmission.[23]

In the twelfth Chêng-kuan year, in the Autumn in the seventh month, it was decreed saying: The way has no unchanging name, sages have no unchanging method. Teaching is established to suit the land, that all living may be saved. The man of great virtue, A-lo-pên of the land of Ta-ch'in, bringing books and images from far has come to offer them at the upper capital.[24] If we carefully examine the meaning of the teaching it is mysterious, wonderful, full of repose. If we look at the fundamental principle it fixes the essentials of production and perfection. In its speech there is no multitude of words; in its principle there is [perfect accomplishment,] forgetting the means. It is the salvation of living beings, it is the wealth of men. It is right that it should have free course under the sky. Let the local officers therefore build a Ta-ch'in monastery in the I-ning quarter at the capital with twenty-one men as regular monks. When the virtue of the ancestral Chou failed, the dark rider went up toward the west; now that the way of the great T'ang shines, a brilliant breeze blows toward the east.[25]

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[23] With this whole paragraph cf. p. 57 below, For Fang Hsüan-ling (578–648) cf. Giles, *Biog. Dict.*; *T'ang shu* c. 96; *Chiu t'ang shu* c. 66.

[24] *Shang ching*, i.e. Ch'ang-an. For the text of this decree see Fig. 6.

[25] cf. p. 65 below, where an independent and very slightly different text of this decree will be found. "Great virtue" (*Ta-tê*) was a Buddhist title not uncommon at the time, more usual than "High virtue" (*Shang-tê*) above. It will be seen that Li Chih-tsao punctuated so that "Let the local . . ." would become "That which is ordered: Let a Ta-ch'in Monastery be built accordingly. . . ." P'an, *op. cit.* fol. 16r°, says that *So ssŭ* were the officers in charge of building work, but they do not seem to be so defined in *T'ang liu tien* or *T'ang shu*. The "dark rider" or "dark chariot" is Lao Tzŭ, who is said to have left China westward riding on a black ox or in a chariot drawn by a black ox. The T'ang emperors, with the same family name of Li, claimed descent from Lao Tzŭ. There is some dispute over the limits of the text of the decree. Some end it at "sky", some (including the *T'ang hui yao* and Pelliot) at "monks", but both the symmetrical construction and the sense seem to support Wylie in carrying it on to "east". A close parallel to the last phrase both in words and context is in the Preface to the *Fan wang ching* ("a pure breeze blew towards the east"). cf. J. J. M. de Groot, *Le Code du Mahayana*, p. 10. In the Life of Lao Tzŭ it says, "When the virtue of Chou failed, he immediately departed into Ta-ch'in riding in a chariot

An order was published that the officers should have the Emperor's portrait copied on the walls of the monastery. The divine likeness full of beauty was a splendid ornament to the brilliant school; the sage features overflowing with felicity were an eternal radiance to the religious community.

According to the *Hsi yü t'u chi* (*Illustrated records of western lands*) and the histories of the Han and Wei the land of Ta-ch'in is bounded on the south by the Shan-hu (coral) Sea, on the north it stretches to the Chung-pao Mountains, on the west it looks towards the Hsien-ching and Hua-lin, on the east it borders on the Ch'ang-fêng and Jo-shui. The country produces fire-washed cloth (asbestos), spices that restore the soul, bright moon pearls, and rings that shine in the night. The customs are without theft and robbery, the people have happiness and peace. No religion but the brilliant is practised, a ruler who is not virtuous is not established. The lands are extensive and broad, the civilization prosperous and enlightened.[26]

The great Emperor Kao Tsung was well fitted to succeed his ancestors; he adorned and glorified the true principle. Therefore he founded brilliant monasteries in every one of the departments (*chou*). And further he promoted A-lo-pên to be Great Spiritual Lord, Protector of the Empire. The religion was spread over the ten provinces and the kingdoms were enriched with vast prosperity; monasteries occupied every city and the families enjoyed brilliant happiness.

In the Shêng-li years the Buddhists audaciously raised their voices in Eastern Chou; at the end of Hsien-t'ien the vulgar gentry greatly mocked, blasphemed, and slandered in Western Hao.[27] There were however Lo-han, head of the

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drawn by a black ox." cf. *Kao shih chuan* (ed. *Han wei ts'ung shu*) c. 1 fol. 8v°.

[26] For the *Hsi yü t'u chi* by P'ei Chü, c. 605, cf. *T'ang shu* c. 58 fol. 14r°, c. 100 fol. 3v°; *Chiu t'ang shu* c. 63 fol. 5v°; and Wylie, *Nestorian Tablet* (in *J.A.O.S.*) p. 308, where he says that such a book, by Wang Ming-yüan, was presented to the Emperor in 661 but is no longer extant (*Yü hai* c. 16 fol. 7r°). For the account of Ta-ch'in in the *Hou han shu* c. 118, cf. Chavannes, *Les pays d'Occident d'après le Heou han chou*, in *T'oung-pao*, 1907, pp. 179–187, where the whole passage is translated and learnedly annotated. cf. also *Wei shu* c. 102 fol. 7.

[27] Eastern Chou is Ho-nan in the province of Ho-nan, capital of

monks, and Chi-lieh[28] of great virtue, both noble sons of the Golden Quarter (the West), unworldly eminent monks. They supported together the mystic cord and joined in tying the broken knot.

The most religious Emperor Hsüan Tsung ordered the prince of Ning-kuo and the four other princes[29] to go in person to the Temple of Happiness to build and set up the altars and courts. The beam of the religion had been weak for a moment but was raised again; the stone of the Way had been thrown down for a time but stood upright once more. At the beginning of T'ien-pao he ordered Kao Li-shih, the commander in chief, to take the portraits of the five sages (emperors) which were placed in the monastery, and to present a hundred rolls of silk, which were reverently received with salutations to the portrait of wisdom. Though the dragon's beard is far away, the bow and sword may yet be touched; while the sun's horns (emperors' faces) diffuse light, the divine faces are not far off. In the third year there was in the land of Ta-ch'in the monk Chi-ho who gazing at the stars turned towards reformation, and looking at the sun did obeisance to the reverend one. It was decreed that the monk Lo-han, the monk P'u-lun, and others, altogether seven men, with Chi-ho of great virtue, should practise meritorious virtue in the Hsing-ch'ing Palace. Upon this the Emperor composed a motto for the monastery and the tablet bore the dragon writing.[30] The

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the usurping empress Wu at that time, as, under the name of Lo, it had been capital of the ancient Chou dynasty. Hao here stands for Ch'ang-an. It had been the name of the old Ch'ang-an, north-west of the T'ang city and of the present Hsi-an. The vulgar gentry (*hsia shih*) is a phrase from the *Tao tê ching*, here perhaps turned upon the Taoists themselves, or, more probably, upon the Confucian *literati*.

[28] Lo-han is probably Abraham. cf. pp. 139, 158, 159, 224, 225 below, and Tobar, *Inscriptions Juives* (*Var. Sin.* 17.) p. 63. Chi-lieh has been identified with Gabriel. cf. Heller, *Das Nest. Denkmal* p. 36; *Traité Man.* p. 29; but this is not explicitly confirmed by the lists of names, pp. 48, 51, below.

[29] *i.e.* the emperor's elder and four other brothers who had lived together in the Hsing-ch'ing Palace. cf. *Chiu t'ang shu* c. 95 fol. Iv°, etc.

[30] *i.e.* the emperor composed and wrote a motto to be copied in facsimile on a horizontal tablet such as is fixed over the door of almost every public building in China.

precious ornament was like a gem or a kingfisher, and was bright with the vermilion glow of sunset clouds. The writing of the wise one pervaded space, rising and leaping up in emulation of the sun. His gracious favour was like the Southern Mountain's towering peak; his overflowing kindness was as deep as the Eastern Sea. The Way is almighty, what it effects it is right to name; the Sage is never idle, what he does it is right to record.

Su Tsung, the polished and enlightened Emperor, refounded the brilliant monasteries in Ling-wu[31] and four other departments (*chün*). Boundless goodness came to help and happy fortune began; great prosperity came down and the Imperial estate was established.

The polished and martial Emperor Tai Tsung swelled and increased the Imperial fortunes and conducted his affairs without exertion. Always on his birthday he presented divine incense to proclaim the perfection of merit; he offered a royal feast to honour the brilliant congregation. Moreover heaven uses fair beneficence and so is able to extend life; the sage by clinging to the original principle is thus able to adorn and make perfect.

Our sage, supernatural, cultured, and martial Chien-chung Emperor appointed the eight forms of government, removing the obscure and promoting the eminent; he published the nine articles that he might consider and renew the brilliant commission. In reformation he penetrates the mysterious principle; the priest [at the State prayers] is free from shame of heart.[32]

To attain to being perfect and great but yet humble, simple and tranquil and yet generous, to save with far stretching mercy all who are in misfortune, and to supply the needs of all living beings with righteous providence, this indeed is the great goal of our practice of virtue, the ladder of our advance. If the winds and rains come in their seasons and the Empire is at peace; if men can be governed and all creatures be made good, if the living can flourish and the dead can rejoice; when words echo truly the thought that is born, and the eye sincerely expresses the feelings that arise,[33] this is the meritorious effect of the mighty acts of our brilliant strength.

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[31] The modern Ling chou in Kan-su.

[32] Dr Lionel Giles (*Bulletin S.O.S.*, 1920, p. 18) translates, " In his task of reformation he has penetrated the mystic principles of the universe; We may call down blessings on his head without any feeling of shame." He quotes the dictionary definition of the word *chu* (" the priest ") : " He who prays for blessings for the ruler " (or " anyone who recites prayers "), and gives an interesting reference to the *Shu ching* (Legge, *Classics*, vol. III. p. 262) in support of his version. Ignatius Ying-ki (p. 14) follows the older versions more closely : " The Emperor . . . has indeed a perfect apprehension of the fundamental reasons of things, and is worthy, verily, to offer sacrifice (to God) with a perfect conscience." The phrase is a direct allusion to the *Tso chuan*. cf. Legge, *Classics*, vol. V. pp. 678, 683.

Our great patron, Chin-tzŭ kuang-lu tai-fu, associate assistant chieh-tu-shih of Shuo-fang, Tien-chung-chien by examination and granted the purple kashāya, the monk I-ssŭ, a man of harmonious nature and loving to do good, hearing the Way and diligently practising it, from far out of the city of Wang-shê came all the way to Chung-hsia.[34] The height of his learning was that of the Three Dynasties, the extent of his skill was perfectly complete. He first distinguished himself in the vermilion hall, and his name was indeed inscribed in the prince's tent. When the President of the Grand Council Duke Kuo Tzŭ-i, Prince of the region of Fên-yang, first commanded the troops in Shuo-fang, Su Tsung ordered him to follow the expedition.[35] Though treated with friendship in the (Prince's) bed-chamber, he did not think himself superior in the ranks. He was nails and teeth for the Duke, he was the army's eyes and ears. He was mighty at scattering rewards and gifts; he did not lay up treasure in his own house. He made offerings of the crystal received from the Emperor's munificence; he gave away the cloth of gold received when he retired and sought rest.[36] He both restored the old monasteries and doubled the size of the Churches. He raised and adorned the roofs of the galleries [and made them] like flying pheasants. He exerted himself beyond measure for the brilliant school; making benevolence his rule he dispersed his wealth. Every year he gathered the monks of the surrounding monasteries[37] together; acting

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[33] This is Dr L. Giles's version (op. cit. p. 19) of the text as it stands, *mu ch'êng*. But I do not feel sure that Li Chih-tsao, Diaz and the early and later translators were wrong in correcting *mu* "eye" to *tzŭ* "spontaneously." cf. *New China Review*, 1921, p. 311.

[34] No attempt is here made to translate or explain the titles and offices, honorary or substantive, enumerated. Several similar examples will be found below (pp. 148 sqq.) where it is explained that certain ranks and grades, to which certain titles were attached, accompanied various official positions on a very elaborate but regular system. Shuo-fang is the modern Ning-hsia in Kan-su. The credit of discovering that I-ssŭ is the Chinese form of *Izd-buzid* who is mentioned in the Syriac inscription below, is due to A. Gueluy, *Le Monument Chrêtien*, p. 79; but little notice has been taken of it, until Pelliot published it independently in *T'oung-pao*, 1914, p. 625. Visdelou, followed by Gueluy, identified the city of Wang-shê correctly with Balkh, but again no notice was taken of it until Pelliot (*l.c.*) and Saeki (*Nestorian Monument* p. 238; cf. Julien, *Hiouen-thsang*, I. p. 29) made the same discovery. Diaz, *T'ang ching chiao* etc. fol. 48v°, seems however to refer to Balkh, saying that I-ssŭ came from "the small western Wang-shê district". *Kashāya* is a priest's coloured robe. *Eitel*, s.v., says, The clerical dress in distinction from that of "laymen in western kingdoms who dress in white." Chung-hsia is China.

[35] The punctuation of these sentences is not very easy. It seems equally possible to put a comma at "tent" and to end the sentence at "Shuo-fang". For the original *wang chang* "prince's tent" Dr L. GILES (*op. cit.* pp. 21–23) reads *yü chang* "jade tent", supported by the printed text of the *Ch'üan t'ang wên*, and his note on the meaning of the phrase should be carefully read. The jot which distinguishes *yü* from *wang* is regularly omitted in composition and sometimes when the word is used alone. The "jade tent" seems to have been first a commanding strategic position and then more vaguely the general's headquarters, and to have one's name inscribed there meant to obtain a commission. In this case the sense is not affected, as the general was the prince. The "vermilion hall" is given in *Giles* s.v. *t'ing* as the emperor's private apartments, but, as LEGGE says, "we want more information about it." For Kuo Tzŭ-i, "one of the most renowned of Chinese generals", see GILES, *B.D.*; *Chiu t'ang shu* c. 120; *T'ang shu* c. 137. The expedition may have been that of 756.

[36] These phrases have given translators great trouble and the exact explanation is yet to be found. They may mean that I-ssŭ gave away as gifts the gifts of crystal and of some sort of cloth of gold which he had himself received on his appointment to office and on his retirement. The material in question seems to have been hair cloth embroidered with gold thread and was regarded as a product of Chung T'ien-chu (? Central India). cf. *Nan shih* c. 78 fol. 7r°. The same book (c. 51 fol. 4v°) mentions a similar cloth as reserved for presents to military officers by Tsao, Marquis of Hsi-ch'ang, who apparently, like I-ssŭ, gave away his enormous wealth and did not use it for his private enjoyment. cf. L. GILES, *op. cit.* P'AN Shên, *op. cit.* fol. 25, 26, while admitting that the real meaning is not known, suggests that I-ssŭ may have given crystal chalices and gold-embroidered mats for use in the Churches.

[37] Or, literally, "of four monasteries" or "of the four monasteries."

reverently, serving precisely, he provided everything for fifty days. He bade the hungry come and fed them; he bade the cold come and clothed them;[38] he healed the sick and raised them up; he buried the dead and laid them to rest. Among the ta-so (*tarsā*) with their rule of purity such excellence has not yet been heard of; among the brilliant masters with white robes we now see this man.[39]

We wish to engrave a great tablet to celebrate distinguished services. The words are:

The true Lord without origin, still, serene, eternal,
In the beginning fashioned and transformed; raised up the earth and set firm the heavens.
The divided Person appeared on earth, redeeming and saving without bound.
The sun rose, darkness was destroyed; all bore witness to the true mysterious principle.

The most majestic and cultured Emperor in Truth excelled the former princes.
Seizing the opportunity he put down disorder; heaven was magnified and earth enlarged.
Brightly, brightly the brilliant teaching came[40] to our T'ang.
They translated books, they built monasteries; the living and the dead voyaged in the boat [of salvation].
Every happiness sprang up at once; all peoples came to prosperity.

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[38] Or " The hungry (*or* cold) came and he fed (*or* clothed) them ; "

[39] This is based on PELLIOT's version in *T'oung-pao*, 1914, pp. 625, 626, where he adds the note : C'est que les *tarsā*, au sens étroit, sont les moines, les " trembleurs ", les *rāhib*. Or Yazdbozed, dont le texte syriaque nomme le fils, n'était pas un moine ; il vivait dans le monde et remplissait des charges ; il appartenait au clergé séculier, au " clergé blanc ". PELLIOT further points out that the " white clergy " of the Oriental churches, as opposed to the " black clergy " or regulars, are not to be confused with the white-robed laymen. The distinction needs to be kept clearly in mind in view of EITEL's words quoted in note 34 above, and of the fact that I-ssŭ, though married, is described as a monk and had been given the *kashāya*. *Tarsā* will be found above and below, pp. 7, 10, 178, 216.

[40] *yen kuei* has been variously but not quite satisfactorily explained. cf. LEGGE, *Classics*, vol. IV. pp. 7, 301, etc.

Kao Tsung, following his fathers, rebuilt the pure mansions.

The palaces of harmony shining far and wide filled all the Middle Land.

The true Way was preached and illumined. He ceremoniously appointed the spiritual lord.

Men had joy and prosperity, creatures were free from calamity and misery.

Hsüan Tsung opened his sage [career]; he was able to practise truth and uprightness.

An Imperial tablet displayed its glory, the divine writing was radiant and splendid.

The Imperial portraits shone like gems; the whole land paid high reverence.

All his actions shone forth together; men trusted to his prosperity.

Su Tsung came to restore; divine majesty led his chariot.

The sun of wisdom spread his brightness; a wind of good omen swept away the night.

Happiness returned to the Imperial palaces; baleful vapours were expelled for ever.

He stopped the turmoil and laid the dust; he built up our land of Hsia.

Tai Tsung was pious and righteous; his virtue joined heaven and earth.

Scattering benefactions he produced and made perfect, and living beings enjoyed fair prosperity.

He repaid merit with gifts of incense; he practised liberality with benevolence.

The valley of the sunrise came to his majesty; the caves of the moon all gathered together.[41]

The Chien-chung [Emperor] attains the highest and proceeds to perfect intelligent virtue.

As a warrior he overawes the four seas; his culture enlightens all lands.

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[41] The extreme east and the extreme west.

With a torch he lights on the secrets of men; in a mirror he sees the likeness of creatures.

The whole world is enlightened and restored to life; all the barbarians take [him as] a model.

The Way is broad: its influence universal.

We are compelled to name and speak it: to preach the Three in One.

The Lord is able to do: the servant is able to tell.

Set up a grand monument: praise the supreme felicity.

Set up in the great T'ang, Chien-chung, second year, the solar period being in tso-o, the t'ai-tsou month, seventh day, the great yao-sên-wên day.[42]

At the time the spiritual lord the monk Ning-shu was presiding over the brilliant congregations of the East.

In the days of the father of fathers Mar Hananishu Catholicos Patriarch.[43]

Lü Hsiu-yen, Ch'ao-i-lang, formerly Ssŭ-shih-ts'an-chün of T'ai chou, was the writer.[44]

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[42] This date is equivalent to Sunday, 4 February, A.D. 781. WYLIE identified *yao-sên-wên* with the Persian *yakšambah* "first day" (cf. "On the knowledge of a weekly sabbath in China" in *Chinese Researches* part II. p. 100), and this has been confirmed by PALLADIUS, *Chinese Recorder*, 1875, p. 148, and more recently and elaborately by CHAVANNES and PELLIOT, *Traité Man.* pp. 186–201.

[43] It has generally been assumed that Ning-shu was the Chinese name (possibly a partial transcription) of Hananishu, and PELLIOT, who with CHAVANNES (*Un Traité Man.* p. 86) was formerly inclined to question this identification, now accepts it. Hananishu was Patriarch from A.D. 774 to 780; and though he died early enough for his successor to be consecrated in May, 780, it is very possible that news of his death had not reached China before February, 781.

[44] Lü Hsiu-yen, though a penman of the first rank, has not been recorded among calligraphists by the Chinese. SAEKI's attempt to identify him with Lü Yen, the famous founder of the Chin-tan sect, cannot be regarded as successful. "formerly" stands for *ch'ien hsing* in the old versions printed by HAVRET, and in those of HAVRET, WYLIE, PAUTHIER, LEGGE, HELLER, and of Ignatius YING-KI. GUELUY is ambiguous, and SAEKI, *Nestorian Monument* pp. 175, 247, translates "Assistant" and insists that the words should be attached to *ch'ao-i-lang* and not to *ssŭ-shih-ts'an-chün*. In a letter of 10 July, 1916, he makes it clear that he regarded the word in question, *hsing*, as meaning not so much "assistant" as "local" (or "provincial") like the familiar *hsing t'ai* or *hsing shêng* or *hsing kung*. His reference

[At the foot of the front face of the stone below the Chinese inscription; columns read from left to right]

In the year thousand and ninety and two of the Greeks (A.D. 781) *my lord Izd-buzid priest and country-bishop of Khumdan the metropolis, son of the late Milis priest, from Balkh a city of Tahuristan, set up that tablet of stone. The things which are written on it* [are] *the law of him our Saviour and the preaching of them our fathers to the kings of the Zinaye.* Monk Ling-pao *Adam minister son of Izd-buzid country-bishop*

Mar Sargis priest and country-bishop

Superviser of the erection of the tablet the monk Hsing-t'ung *Sabranishu priest*

Gabriel priest and archdeacon and head of the church of Khumdan and of Sarag [45]

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to the *T'ang liu tien* c. 2 fol. 9v°, tells us that certain titular as distinguished from substantive posts (*liu wai* or *hsiao* "small" appointments) were collectively called *hsing shu* (?"provincial offices") and were subdivided according to the departments to which they were attached into *ch'ien* or "front" *hsing* and *hou* or "back" *hsing*. Where the passage is repeated otherwise word for word in *Chiu t'ang shu* c. 43 fol. 3r°, *ch'ien hsing* becomes *ch'ien pa ssŭ* "front eight offices," and in the *T'ang shu* c. 46 fol. 3v° the sentences about *hsing* are omitted altogether. I do not recollect having seen *ch'ien hsing* added either after or before a title elsewhere. *Ch'ao-i-lang* was the title properly attached to the upper division of the upper grade of the 6th rank (*chêng liu p'in shang*), while the post of *ssŭ-shih-ts'an-chün* entitled the holder only to the lower division of the lower grade of the 7th rank. So we seem to need more information. *Ssŭ-shih-ts'an-chün* was an officer in charge of public works attached to the staff of a first-class *chou* or county. cf. *Tz'ŭ-yüan* s.v.; *T'ang liu tien* c. 30 fol. 7r°. T'ai chou is the modern T'ai-chou fu in Chê-chiang.

[45] Khumdan is Ch'ang-an (cf. p. 77, below) and Sarag is Ho-nan, Lo or Lo-yang, in Ho-nan province. The *Fan yü tsa ming* by Li-yen of the T'ang gives "kumdana (ki̯u mə̯u tâ nâ*ng*, kumotana)" as the Sanskrit equivalent of *ching shih*, the capital. cf. *Taisho Tripitaka* vol. 54 p. 1236*b*. Mr A. Waley has kindly sent me a note by Pelliot from P. Ch. Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-chinois*, 1929, II. p. 295 (which I have not yet seen), which adds to the above the forms Khumdān from a Sogdian manuscript of the T'ang and χουμαδάν or χουβδάν from Theophylact Simocatta (A.D. 610; *Historiae* vii. 9, ed. Teubner pp. 261, 262). The apparent meaning of the Sanskrit ("place of water lilies") is not supported by the aspirated forms of the name, the equivalence of Khumdan

Assistant superviser the monk Yeh-li, t'ai-ch'ang-ch'ing by examination, granted the purple kashāya, abbot

[On the left edge of the stone; top row.]

My lord Iohanan Bishop Yao-lun of great virtue
Isaac priest monk Jih-chin
Joel priest monk Yao-yüeh
Michael priest monk Kuang-ch'ing
George priest monk Ho-chi [46]
Mahdad Gushnasp priest monk Hui-ming
Mshihadad [47] *priest* monk Pao-ta
Ephrem priest monk Fu-lin [48]
Abi priest
David priest
Moses priest monk Fu-shou

[Second row.]

Bacchus priest monk monk Ch'ung-ching
Elijah priest monk monk Yen-ho
Moses priest and monk
'Abadishu' priest and monk
Simeon priest of the sepulchre
Iohanis minister and monk [49] monk Hui-t'ung

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with *kung-tien*, "palace", suggested by Tomaschek does not seem satisfactory, and the explanation remains uncertain. The Sanskrit forms of other place-names noted in these vocabularies bear no resemblance to the Chinese. I have to thank Mr E. J. THOMAS for kind help with the Sanskrit. The second identification, guessed by PAUTHIER, *Mém. sur l'authenticité de l'inscr. de Si-ngan-fou* p. 92, and accepted by YULE, *Cathay* I. p. 108, has recently been found by PELLIOT in *Fan yü ch'ien tzŭ wên*, a Sanskrit-Chinese vocabulary of the T'ang dynasty. cf. *Deux Lexiques* I. p. 150, and *Taisho Tripitaka* vol. 54 pp. 1191*a*, 1201*a*, where the entry is "sâ lâ ngâ, Saraga: Lâk." cf. *T'oung-pao*, 1927, pp. 91, 92, where PELLIOT tentatively suggests that *rag* may recall *lâk*, the old sound of *Lo*, and *JA*, 1927, juillet–sept., p. 138. I am much obliged to Messrs Kegan Paul & Co. for kindly allowing me to consult a copy of *Deux Lexiques* vol. I.

サラキャ
सरग
娑囉誐
洛

[46] cf. the form I-ho-chi-ssŭ, p. 55.

[47] These two names are of Iranian origin. cf. PELLIOT, *Les Influences Iraniennes etc.* (*Revue d'Hist. et de Litt. Religieuses*, 1911) p. 14.

[48] cf. the form Ê-fu-lin, p. 56.

[49] L. CHEIKHO translated "Secretarius(?)", but the original is perhaps more probably an abbreviation for the word for "monk".

[Third row.]

Aaron monk Ch'ien-yu
Peter monk Yüan-i
Job monk Ching-tê
Luke monk Li-chien
Matthew monk Ming-t'ai
Iohanan monk Hsüan-chên
Ishu'ameh monk Jên-hui
Iohanan monk Yao-yüan
Sabrishu' monk Chao-tê
Ishu'dad monk Wên-ming
Luke monk Wên-chêng
Constantine monk Chü-hsin
Noah monk Lai-wei

[Fourth row.]

Izdsafas monk Ching-chên
Iohanan monk Huan-shun
Anush monk Ling-shou
Mar Sargis monk Ling-tê
Isaac monk Ying-tê
Iohanan monk Chung-ho
Mar Sargis monk Ying-hsü
Pusai monk P'u-chi
Simeon monk Wên-shun
Isaac monk Kuang-chi
Iohanan monk Shou-i

[Through and below the third and fourth rows of names on the left edge a modern inscription has been engraved in 47 Chinese words as follows :]

One thousand and seventy-nine years later, in chi-wei of Hsien-fêng (1859), Han T'ai-hua of Wu-lin (Hang-chou) came to see. Fortunately the characters were perfect and complete. He rebuilt the pavilion of the monument to protect it. Alas that his old friend the Treasurer Wu Tzŭ-pi did not come with him. Long will he regret it.

[On the right edge of the stone; top row.]

Jacob priest venerable Yeh-chü-mo
Mar Sargis priest and country-bishop shiangtsua[50] monk Ching-t'ung
Gigoi priest and archdeacon of Khumdan and teacher monk Hsüan-lan
Paul priest monk Pao-ling
Samson priest monk Shên-shên
Adam priest monk Fa-yüan
Elijah priest monk Li-pên
Isaac priest monk Ho-ming
Iohanan priest monk Kuang-chêng
Iohanan priest monk Nei-ch'êng
Simeon priest and elder

[Second row.]

Jacob sacristan monk Ch'ung-tê
'Abadishu' monk T'ai-ho
Ishu'dad monk Ching-fu
Jacob monk Ho-kuang
Iohanan monk Chih-tê
Shubha lmaran monk Fêng-chên
Mar Sargis monk Yüan-tsung
Simeon monk Li-yung
Ephrem monk Hsüan-tê
Zachariah monk I-chi
Cyriacus monk Chih-chien
Bacchus monk Pao-kuo
Emmanuel monk Ming-i

[Third row.]

Gabriel monk Kuang-tê
Iohanan

[50] PELLIOT, *T'oung-pao*, 1911, pp. 664–670, has identified this with *shang-tso*, a Buddhist title given to those who are privileged to preach and to become Abbots. cf. *Eitel* s.v. *Sthavira*. Former guesses were that it was the name of a place; and HELLER made an advance in suggesting *hsiang-chu*, a Chinese translation of country-bishop.

Solomon monk Ch'ü-shên
Isaac
Iohanan monk Tê-chien [51]

(2) THE TUN-HUANG *GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO*

ONLY second in importance to the great Christian Monument at Hsi-an, and indeed in some ways more interesting than that, is the little manuscript found by Paul Pelliot at Tun-huang in 1908 and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Collection Pelliot 3847). It is now well known that a hoard of manuscripts, which had lain for centuries sealed up in a small room cut in the rock in the Ch'ien fo tung near Tun-huang on the extreme north-west frontier of China, had been found by the local priests near the end of the nineteenth century. In 1908 Sir Aurel Stein was able to bring away a large number of the manuscripts and these are now in London. But thousands were still left when Professor Pelliot visited the place a few weeks later, and among the treasures which he took home to Paris was this little Christian roll, torn in three pieces but yet quite complete. Internal evidence shows, as will be seen, that the date must be not long before or after the year 800, and makes it likely that though found so far away it was written at or near Ch'ang-an (Hsi-an). It contains first a Hymn to the holy Trinity, which Dr A. Mingana identified with the East Syrian form of the *Gloria in excelsis*,[52] secondly lists of saints and books, and thirdly a short historical note. It is very much to be regretted that Professor Pelliot has not yet been able to publish an annotated version of this precious document; and I cannot do more than give a crude translation of the texts, without attempting to discuss the many difficult points in the phraseology of the Hymn or in the identifications of the names of the saints and of the books.[53]

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[51] Analysis of these seventy names, which are quite unexplained on the monument, may suggest that they are possibly those of the staff of the diocese at the time when the stone was set up, or more probably the names of those present at one of the annual gatherings organized by Izd-buzid.

[52] I cannot trace the article in which this fact was announced by Dr Rendel Harris about ten years ago.

1. A Hymn of the Brilliant Teaching to the Three Majesties for obtaining salvation.

[If] the highest heavens with deep reverence adore,
[If] the great earth earnestly ponders on general peace and harmony,
[If] man's first true nature receives confidence and rest,
[It is due to] A-lo-hê the merciful Father of the universe.

All the congregation of the good worship with complete sincerity;
All enlightened natures praise and sing;
All who have souls trust and look up to the utmost;
Receiving holy merciful light to save from the devil.

Hard to find, impossible to reach, upright, true, eternal,
Merciful Father, shining Son, holy Spirit, King,[54]
Among all rulers you are Master Ruler,
Among all the world-honoured you are spiritual Monarch.

[Your] eternal existence mysteriously lights the infinite,
[Your] bright majesty thoroughly searches out the finite,[55]
From the beginning no man has been able to see [you],
Nor may [you] be imaged by the eye of flesh.

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[53] The text of the manuscript has been printed by Mr Lo Chên-yü in *Tun huang shih shih i shu*, 1909, vol. 3 fol. [45–47]; in *Taisho Tripitaka*, vol. 54, p. 1288*b*, *c*; and incompletely by Prof. P. Y. Saeki in *The Nestorian Monument*, 1916, pp. 66–70, 272. cf. *BEFEO*, VIII. p. 519; *Church Miss. Review*, 1912, pp. 619–621; Chavannes and Pelliot, *Un Traité Manichéen*, 1912, 1913. The Hymn consists of 44 lines of seven syllables, a regular Chinese form of verse which is not very commonly used in Buddhist hymns (*Un Traité Man.* p. 7). For an English version of the *Gloria in excelsis* made from the Syriac see Bishop A. J. Maclean, *The Catholicos of the East*, 1892, pp. 230, 231; and p. 57 below.

[54] "The combined invocation of *Tz'ŭ Fu* [merciful Father], *Ming Tzŭ* [shining Son], *Ching fa Fêng* pure Wind of Religion occurs several times" in contemporary Manichean hymns found at Tun-huang. cf. *JRAS*, 1926, p. 122.

[55] This translation attempts to give the parallelism which seems to be intended between the two lines, but the first line could as well mean "You eternally dwell in mysterious light without shore or boundary," and Bishop Maclean's "Who dwellest in the glorious light" suggests that that may be the better translation.

Alone completely perfect in clear holy virtue,
Alone divinely majestic in unmeasured strength,
Alone unchanging and grandly existing,
The root and source of all goodness, and also without summit.

We now all recite [your] mercy and kindness,
Sighing for your mysterious joy to enlighten our realm,
Honoured Mi-shih-hê most holy Son,
Widely delivering [from ?] the region of bitterness, saving the helpless.

Merciful joyful Lamb of the everlasting King of life,
Generally and universally accepting pain, not refusing toil,
Be willing to put away the collected weight of sin of all living,
Mercifully save their souls that they may obtain rest.

The holy Son justly occupies the throne on the Father's right hand,
His throne also is exalted unlimitedly high,[56]
Great Master be willing there to answer the prayers of all,
Send down the raft to grant escape from tossing on the stream of fire.[57]

The great Master is our merciful Father,
The great Master is our holy Lord,
The great Master is our spiritual King,
The great Master can be universal Saviour and Deliverer.

The great Master with wise strength helps all the weary;
All eyes look up without wavering for an instant;
And also on the withered and parched sends down sweet dew
That all existence may be watered and the root of goodness be refreshed.

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[56] The word for "limit" seems to be a cursive form of one of the words meaning "to cut off." The form in the MS. is given in *K'ang-hsi* with a quite inappropriate meaning, and I have not found the printed form in any dictionary.

[57] "to answer" represents a word which I have not been able to read with any certainty. The raft is a common Buddhist figure for salvation. Kuan-yin, the Goddess of Mercy, is called Raft, or Boat, of Mercy.

Most holy universally honoured Mi-shih-hê,
We adore the merciful Father, ocean-treasure of mercy,
Most holy, humble, and the holy Spirit nature.
Clear and strong is the law; beyond thought or dispute.[58]

A Hymn of the Brilliant Teaching of Ta-ch'in to the Three Majesties for obtaining salvation.

2. Honoured Persons and Sacred Books:

We reverently worship the mysterious person the royal Father A-lo-hê. The responding person the royal Son Mi-shih-hê. The witnessing person Lu-hê ning-chü-sha.[59]

[*Note*:] The above three persons unite together in one body.

Yü-han-nan spiritual king. Lu-ch'ieh spiritual king. Mo-chü-ssŭ spiritual king. Ming-t'ai spiritual king. Mu-shih spiritual king. To-hui spiritual king. Ching-t'ung spiritual king. Pao-lu spiritual king. Ch'ien-yen spiritual king. Na-ning-i spiritual king. Min-yen spiritual king. Mo-sa-chi-ssŭ spiritual king. I-ho-chi-ssŭ spiritual king. Mo-mu-chi-ssŭ spiritual king. Ch'ên-wên-sêng spiritual king. Nien-ssŭ shêng[60] spiritual kings. Hsien-nan-yeh spiritual king. Ho-sa-yeh spiritual king. Mi-sha-i spiritual king. So-lo spiritual king. Chü-lu spiritual king. Pao-hsin spiritual king.[61]

We reverently worship the Ch'ang ming huang lo (*Eternal*

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[58] "beyond . . dispute," representing "for ever," is a Buddhist phrase for infinite transcendence. The whole of the last line, standing for "for ever. Amen." in MACLEAN'S version, is an interesting study in translation.

[59] The transcription of the Syriac *Ruha da qudša*, "Spirit of Holiness," is quite regular except the syllable *ning* of which I have been able to find no explanation. It is to be noted however that in the very interesting Manichean hymns from Tun-huang, of about the same date, *n* or *l* is regularly used to transcribe *d* or δ. Thus doγ is *nêng*, piδ *pi-li*, qaduš *ch'ieh-lu-shih*. cf. *JRAS*, 1926, p. 121.

[60] "The twenty-four-sages," *i.e.* the writers of the Old Testament.

[61] In this list of saints many will be easily recognized: John (Yuhannan), Luke, Mark (Marcus), Matthew, Moses, David, —, Paul, —, —, —, Marsargis, George, —, —, 24 Sages, Hananiah, Azariah, Mishael, —, —, —. For the rest I can offer no certain identifications. For the use of the not very common Buddhist title *fa wang* "spiritual king" cf. *Un Traité Manichéen* pp. 85, 86. It is here used apparently for "Saint."

light royal joy) book. Hsüan yüan chih pên (*Proclaim origin reach root*) book. Chih hsüan an lo (*Devoted to hidden peace joy*) book. T'ien pao tsang (*Heavenly treasure store*) book. To hui shêng wang (*David sage king*) book. A ssŭ chü li yung book.[62] Hun yüan (*Absolute life*) book. T'ung chên (*Reach truth*) book. Pao ming (*Precious brightness*) book. Ch'uan hua (*Preach conversion*) book. Ch'ing i (*Complete bequest ?*) book. Yüan ling (*Original spiritual power*) book. Shu lüeh (*Transmit summary*) book. San chi (*Three moments*) book.[63] Chêng chieh (*Seek ask ?*) book. Ning ssŭ (*Peaceful thought*) book. Hsüan i (*Proclaim righteousness*) book. Shih li hai book. Pao lu fa wang (*Paul spiritual king*) book. Shan ho lü book. I li yüeh ssŭ book. Ning yeh tun(?) book. I tsê lü (*Ceremonial rules laws* (or a transcription ?)) book. P'i ê ch'i book. San wei tsan (*Three majesties praise*) book.[64] Mu shih fa wang (*Moses spiritual king*) book. I li yeh (*Elijah*) book. Ê fu lin (*Ephraim*) book. Pao hsin fa wang (*Pao hsin spiritual king*) book. Mi shih hê tzŭ tsai t'ien ti (*Messiah self existent in heaven and earth*) book. Ssŭ mên (*Four gates*) book. Ch'i chên (*Opening truth*) book. Mo sa chi ssŭ (*Mar Sargis*) book. Tz'ŭ li po book. Wu sha na (*Hosanna ?*) book.

3. I respectfully note with regard to the list of all the books

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[62] The names of the books are given in transcription and, where they are not themselves obvious transcriptions of proper names or of other foreign words, a tentative literal version has been added in brackets. For the last name it has been suggested with some plausibility that we should read A *wan* chü li yung, *Evangelium*, the Gospel (*Un Traité Man.* p. 160). It is suggested too that the preceding book may possibly be the Psalter, and the *Heavenly Treasure-store* the Breviary, which is said to be called *Gaza* (p. 11 above) or the Treasure by the Nestorians.

[63] The *Book of the Three Moments* is a Manichean book, and its inclusion here is unexpected. For full information on the subject we must refer to the long note in *Un Traité Manichéen* pp. 157–168 (especially 158–160), where the inclusion of the *Book of Four Gates* (an astrological work) is also discussed, and it is suggested that for *Ning ssŭ* we should perhaps read *Ning wan*, in which case that also would be a Manichean book. It must be remembered that Ching-ching, the translator of the Christian books, is known to have helped in the translation of a Buddhist book (p. 68 below) and may well have given similar help to the Manichees.

[64] This is of course the Hymn translated above. The second and third books on the list are also extant.

that the religious books of this church of Ta-ch'in are in all 530 works, and they are all on *patra* leaves in the Sanskrit (*i.e.* Syriac or Persian ?) tongue. In the ninth Chêng-kuan year of the Emperor T'ai Tsung of the T'ang A-lo-pên a monk of great virtue from the West came to Chung hsia (China) and presented a petition to the Emperor in his native tongue. Fang Hsüan-ling and Wei Chêng made known the interpretation of the words of the petition. Later by imperial order the monk of great virtue Ching-ching of this church obtained by translation [65] the above thirty and more rolls of books. The great number are all on *patra* [leaves] or on leather in wrappers, still not translated.[66]

(3) OTHER DOCUMENTS FROM TUN-HUANG

BESIDES the *Gloria in excelsis*, which was immediately seen to be Christian by the discoverer, four other Christian documents have since been recognized amongst the great mass of manuscripts from Tun-huang which are now in public or private collections. These are the *Hsüan yüan*

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[65] The word *i* ("by translation") is unfortunately cut off from the photograph reproduced on Fig. 7.

[66] This last note is in a different hand from that of the Hymn and the lists of persons and books. It is unnecessary to point out in detail how it confirms the historical portion of the Hsi-an Monument, while the mention of Wei Chêng shows that it is not merely copied from that Monument.

Bishop MACLEAN'S version of the *Gloria* mentioned above is printed here for convenience of comparison. The numbers refer to the corresponding verses of the Chinese.

1. Glory to God in the highest And on earth peace And a good hope to mankind. 2. We worship thee, We glorify thee, We exalt thee, 3. Being who art from eternity, Hidden nature that cannot be fathomed, Father, Son, and holy Ghost, King of kings And Lord of lords; 4. Who dwellest in the glorious light, Whom no man hath seen, And cannot see; 5. Who alone art holy And alone mighty And alone immortal. 6. We confess thee Through the mediator of our blessings, Jesus, Messiah, The Saviour of the world And the Son of the Highest. 7. O Lamb of the living God Who takest away the sins of the world, Have mercy upon us. 8. Who sittest at the right hand of the Father, Receive our request. 9. For thou art our God, And thou art our Lord, And thou art our King, And thou art our Saviour, 10. And thou art the forgiver of our sins. The eyes of all men hang on thee. 11. Jesus Christ, Glory to God thy Father, And to thee, and to the holy Ghost, For ever. Amen.

chih pên ching, *Chih hsüan an lo ching*, *I shên lun*, and *Hsü t'ing mi shih so ching*. Of these the first two are respectively the second and third in the list of the books which had been translated by Ching-ching in the latter part probably of the eighth century. The other two are apparently earlier, but were not included in that list.[67]

The only one of these four texts to which I have had access is the last. It is a tract of more than 2800 words, written on a roll of thick yellowish brown paper in 170 columns (including the title) with an average of about 17 words to a column. The extraordinary style, which in very many places quite baffles the translator, and the large number of wrongly written words justify Professor Haneda in guessing that it is the work of a foreigner who had not progressed very far in the study of the Chinese language and that no educated Chinese helper can have been available to write it out.[68] Professor Haneda notes the presence of one of the special characters invented by the empress Wu, and this might date the work in the last quarter of the seventh century; but, though he calls this " a gleam of light shed on the question of the date ", yet when he comes to discuss the sentence in detail he shows that the word is more probably a merely ignorant or careless form of a common word.

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[67] I owe my knowledge of these documents to an article by Professor T. HANEDA in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Library* (Peking), vol. I. No. 6, " Notes on a Nestorian Manuscript found at *Tung Huang* ", supplemented in one or two details by Professor PELLIOT. cf. also *JA*, avr.-juin 1920, p. 261. The *Hsüan yüan chih pên ching* and the *Chih hsüan an lo ching* are both in the library of Mr LI Shêng-to (?). The first does not seem to have been published yet; the second was recorded in the *Tung fang wên k'u* No. 71 and has recently been published and annotated by HANEDA in *Tōyō gakuhō*, vol. 18, No. 1. To the *I shên lun* (" Discourse on One God "), which seems to be dated 642 and is now the property of Mr TOMIOKA, HANEDA devoted an article in *Geimon*, 9th year, 1918, No. 1. Finally the *Hsü t'ing mi shih so ching*, which has been studied by HANEDA in the *Mélanges Naitō*, is published in the *Bulletin of the Met. Lib.*, vol. I. No. 6, pp. 433–456 (text pp. 434–439), with introduction and notes by HANEDA translated into Chinese by Mr CH'IEN Tao-sun. The text is also printed in the *Taisho Tripitaka*, vol. 54, pp. 1286*b*–1288*a*. The manuscript is the property of Dr Junjirō TAKAKUSU.

[68] The errors, which will be appreciated by readers who know Chinese, include *chan* " fight " for *chên* " quake ", *ch'iu* " seek " for *lai* " come ", *shih* " poem " for *shih* " time ", *ssŭ* " like " for *ssŭ* " give ", *tsai* " at " for *tso* " left ", *wu* " five " for *wu* " noon ", etc.

A slight indication of early date may perhaps be found in the fact that the Cross is called a " tree " (*mu*) and the use of the " figure of ten ", which is, I think, the only term used at the end of the eighth century, had not yet been adopted. Several approving references to Buddha, and the mention of Devas and Arhan, and the use of Yen-lo for the prince of Hades seem perhaps to show that the tract is not a translation but an original composition with some degree of adaptation to current Chinese ideas.

Assuming the correctness of Professor Haneda's change of three out of the eight words, the title will read, " The Book of I-shu Mi-shih-hê (Ie̯ śi̯ʷo Miei śi χâ—Jesus Messiah); one roll." The text begins in the manner of a Buddhist *sutra*, " At that time Mi-shih-hê (mjie̯ ṣi χâ) spoke the law of the Lord Hsü-p'o (zi̯ʷo bʻuâ) and said. . . ."[69] In the early part the author dwells first on the invisibility and omnipresence of God (" The countenance of the Lord is like the wind. What man can attain to seeing the wind? "), a thought to which he comes back several times with reminiscence perhaps of the story of Nicodemus. He passes on to the dependence of man upon God; to the rise of idolatry (" The people being deceived took gold to make images, silver images of Spirits (*shên*), and bronze images, and clay images of Spirits, and wooden images of Spirits; and moreover they made all sorts of animals, making men like men, making horses like horses, making oxen like oxen, making asses like asses; but unable to move, and not speaking, and not eating; alas! with no flesh, and no skin, no organs, no bones."); to the distinction of clean from unclean food; to the three great duties of man (" First to serve the Lord, the second to serve the Emperor, the third to serve father and mother." or " To fear the Lord and the Emperor, and to fear father and mother."). The following is an interesting example of the Buddhist colouring which has been mentioned: "[The Lord] first sent all living beings to worship all the Devas and Buddhas, and for Buddha to endure suffering."[70] This indeed seems to take the place of the First Commandment, and it is followed by the Second (equivalent to our Fifth), with the promise that all who have been dutiful to their parents and supported them without fail shall at the hour of death attain the way of heaven as mansion. The Fourth Commandment enjoins love or doing good to all living beings; the Fifth forbids the taking of life or exhorting others to take life "for the life of all living beings is the same as the life of man"; the Sixth forbids adultery; the Seventh is "Do not be a thief"; The Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth seem rather vaguely to combine the real Ninth and Tenth. This is followed by general exhortations and a statement of the failure of mankind to obey the Lord's commands. From line 114 onwards a more consecutive translation or paraphrase is attempted, but even as a paraphrase it is largely and necessarily guesswork. The translator must feel that, like Prajna and Ching-ching in the eighth century (p. 69), "though he professes to have made a translation he has not caught half the gems."

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[69] *p'o* is Haneda's correction for the very similar *so*. So emended the word Hsü-p'o may stand for Jehovah, or perhaps, as Professor Burkitt suggests, for Sabaoth. The term for " the Lord ", T'ien-tsun or Divinely Reverend, is borrowed from Taoism. To all transcriptions of foreign words in this document the 7th century sounds are added in brackets in the phonetic spelling of Karlgren's *Analytic Dict. of Chinese.*

The people turned their backs and did evil and proceeded to disobey the Lord. The Lord seeing the people like this pitied them not a little and exhorted them to do good. When they did not follow the Lord's commands, he sent the holy Spirit[71] to a virgin named Mo-yen (Muât i̯äm). Then the holy Spirit entered into the womb of Mo-yen according to the Lord's instructions. Then Mo-yen conceived because the Lord sent the holy Spirit to her when she was a virgin. Conceiving without a man she taught all living beings to see that she conceived without a man, and caused the men of the world to see and say that the Lord had wondrous power. Then he sent the people a believing heart with purity to return toward good purpose. After Mo-yen had conceived she gave birth to a son named I-shu; his father being the influence of the holy Spirit. There were ignorant people who thereupon said it was like conceiving and giving birth under the influence of the wind. But there was an emperor in the world who published a decree to which he required all men to submit (? ?). Whereupon the Lord in heaven shed light over the whole earth. In the place where I-sḫu Mi-shih-hê was born the dwellers in the world saw a bright light on the earth, a star of good omen dwelling in the sky. The star was large as a cart-wheel brightening the holy place the dwelling of the Lord in front of —— ——.[72] Afterwards he was born in the city of Wu-li-shih-lien (·uo lji ṣi li̯äm, Jerusalem) in the kingdom of Fu-lin (p'i̯uət li̯əm, the Mediterranean Orient). It was noon when Mi-shih-hê was born. After one year he talked and spoke the law to the people that they should do good. When twelve years had passed he came to the holy place named Shu-nan (d'ź'i̯uĕt nân) and went immediately to Jo-hun (ńźi̯ak χuən) and entered the water.[73] At first Mi-shih-hê submitted to the Saint who lived in a ravine, who from his birth had not taken wine or flesh but only ate raw vegetables and honey, honey on the ground. At that time there were people not few who came to Yü-hun (i̯ʷok χuən) for the washing (?) ceremony and to take again the vows. Then Yü-hun sent Mi-shih-hê to enter into To-nan to wash. After Mi-shih-hê had entered the water, when he came out of the stream, then there was the holy Spirit coming from heaven in appearance like a dove and he sat upon Mi-shih-hê. [A voice] was heard in empty space saying Mi-shih-hê is my son; all people who are in the world must take Mi-shih-hê to restrain them and guide them all to do good. Mi-shih-hê then gave the people the way of heaven; for it was the Lord's will to dispose the people in the world not to serve inferior spirits. Then there were people who heard these words, Do not serve inferior spirits, nor do evil, and forthwith believed the good life. Mi-shih-hê from twelve years until more than thirty-two years sought whatever people were of evil life and sent them to turn toward good life and the right way. Mi-shih-hê also had twelve disciples. Then those who were suffering and dying he made live, blind men received eyes, cripples (? lepers) were restored, the sick were healed, those who were tormented by devils were delivered. All the sick came to Mi-shih-hê to take hold of his *kashāya* and were always restored. All the men who did evil, those who did not turn toward the good way, those who did not believe the teaching of the Lord, and the unclean and covetous men in this world, and those who did not cease to desire wine and take flesh and serve inferior spirits, the scribes who hindered (?) him, proceeded to plot deceitfully and plan together and wished to kill him. But because of this there were great numbers of people who believed this teaching, because of this they could not kill Mi-shih-hê. Afterwards the evil-livers made a confederacy to pretend to appear like believers and pure men and planned and wished to kill Mi-shih-hê, but there was no way which they could devise. Then they went to the prince and spoke evil. While the men of evil life were planning evil things Mi-shih-hê did good and went forward all the more teaching the people. When his years were past thirty-two the practisers of evil went to the prince P'i-lo-tu-ssŭ (b'ji lâ tuo si) and spoke accusations before P'i-lo-tu-ssŭ and said Mi-shih-hê had committed crimes worthy of death. The prince immediately perceived the evil intention when they joined to bear witness against Mi-shih-hê to the prince P'i-lo-tu-ssŭ that Mi-shih-hê was guilty of crimes worthy of death. The prince wished to arrange the matter for him

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[70] Before hastily condemning the author of this strange version of (if I guess rightly) the First Commandment, we should make some effort to imagine the scene as the Persian missionary with little knowledge of Chinese language or thought struggles to make a Chinese friend of very humble scholastic gifts understand "Thou shalt worship the LORD thy God and him only shalt thou serve." More strange results than "Thou shalt worship all the Devas and Buddhas and for Buddha endure suffering" have, I think, been produced by modern translators, both missionary and secular, whose orthodoxy has been above suspicion.

[71] Literally "the cool breeze", *liang fêng*. "Pure breeze", *ching fêng*, is the term used on the Christian Monument, in the *Gloria*, the Manichean Treatise, and (so HANEDA says) in the *I shên lun*.

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[72] These words, i êrh (i̯ĕt ńźie̯), completely puzzle me, whether they are to be translated or taken as a name. To read I-shu (Jesus) would require a greater change than seems to be warranted.

[73] This is I think how HANEDA understands this passage, taking Shu-nan for Jordan, and Jo(*or* Yü)-hun and the Saint for John. The writer seems to have taken Saint to mean the Emperor, leaving an honorific blank space above the word.

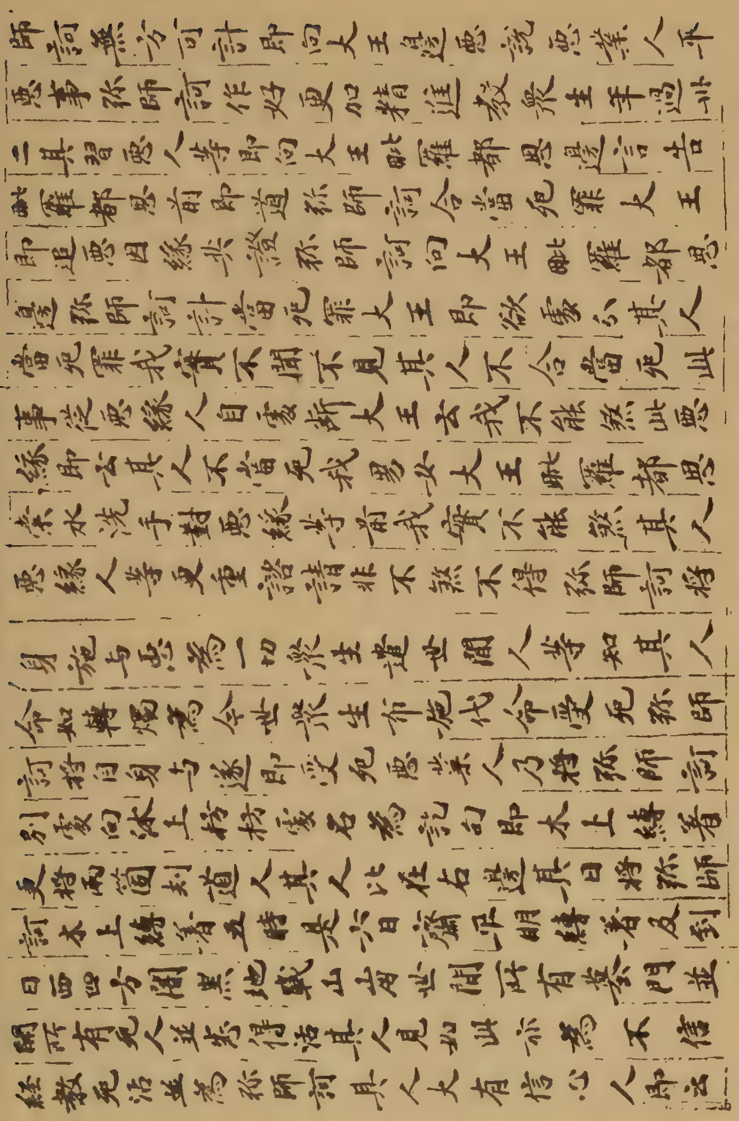

FIG. 8.—The last twenty columns of the *Hsü t'ing Mi shih so ching* (*Rather less than half full size*)

and said, Crime worthy of death truly I do not hear or see; the man ought not to die. This matter comes from evil purpose, and the men shall settle it themselves. The prince said, I cannot kill him; this is evil purpose. Then they said, If the man ought not to die, [then slay] our sons and daughters. The prince P'i-lo-tu-ssŭ asked for water and washed his hands in front of the evil-purposed ones saying, I truly cannot kill the man. The men of evil purpose petitioned all the more urgently that he should not refuse to put him to death or be unable. Mi-shih-hê took his body and gave it to evil men for all living beings to cause the men of the world to know that man's life is like a flickering candle. Offering his life as a substitute to be put to death for the living beings of the present world, Mi-shih-hê took and gave his own body and was then put to death. The men of evil life then took Mi-shih-hê to another place to a tree[74] on the execution ground named Ch'i-chü (k‘i̯ət ki̯u, ? Golgotha); and having bound him on the tree they also took two robbers [and crucified them] on the left and right of the man. The day that they took Mi-shih-hê and bound him on the tree at noon time was the sixth-day fast. At dawn (?) he was bound and when it came to afternoon there was black darkness on every side; the earth quaked and the hills rocked, and all the gates of the graves in the world were opened and all the dead men all received life. When the men saw it like this, though there were yet some who did not believe the teaching of the scriptures that death and life were both in Mi-shih-hê, the men in general had belief. Men then said. . . .

So this precious document ends in the middle of a sentence.[75]

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[74] I suppose *shu* or *mu* "to wash" to be written for *mu* "tree", but do not feel certain about it. Haneda prints *shu* and can make nothing of it.

[75] The man from whom Dr Takakusu obtained the manuscript said that there had been several more columns, but they were in so bad a state of repair that he had cut them off and pasted a clean piece of paper from the beginning of the roll in their place. Professor Haneda seems to doubt this story, though I do not know why it should not be true. The history of the MS. is unknown.

After the above had gone to the press I received from Mr A. Waley a copy of the *Tōyō gakuhō* with the text of the *Chih hsüan an lo ching*. It is a tract of 2594 words in the form and language

(4) SOME ALLUSIONS TO CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY FROM INDEPENDENT SOURCES

Here follow a number of disconnected fragments translated from several contemporary books and other documents for the most part Chinese.

1. In the seventh month of the twelfth Chêng-kuan year (15 August–12 September, 638) a decree was made saying, The Way has no immutable name, sages have no unchanging method. Teaching is founded to suit the land that all the living may be saved. The Persian monk A-lo-pên bringing scriptures and teaching from far has come to offer them at Shang-ching. The meaning of the teaching has been carefully examined: it is mysterious, wonderful, calm; it fixes the essentials of life and perfection; it is the salvation of living beings, it is the wealth of man. It is right that it should spread through the empire. Therefore let the local officials build a monastery in the I-ning quarter with twenty-one regular monks.[76]

2. Liu Tsê. In the second K'ai-yüan year (714) he became Tien chung shih yü shih and head of the Chien hsüan ssŭ in Ling-nan (Kuang-tung, etc.). The head of the Shih po ssŭ (Inspectorate of merchant shipping), the Chung lang chiang of the Right Wei Guard Chou Ch'ing-li, the Persian monk Chi-lieh, and others were extensively making wonderful objects and strange devices in order to present them to the Court. Tsê sent in a written protest saying: I have heard that not to see what may be coveted saves the mind from disturbance. Thus I know that the mind is sure to be disturbed if it sees what may be coveted. I have caught sight of Ch'ing-li and the others carving quaint things and making wonderful objects, using vain devices to make

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of a Buddhist sutra, consisting of a dialogue between Christ (Mi-shih-hê) and Ch'ên-wên sêng-ch'ieh (cf. p. 55 above), whom the Japanese editor seems to identify with Simeon. There appears to be little that is distinctively Christian either in subject-matter or in terminology.

[76] *T'ang hui yao*, A.D. 960 (ed. 1884), c. 49 fol. 10v°. cf. p. 39 above, where the same decree is given in fuller form; and *Var. Sin.* 12. pp. 253, 254. This text was first found by A. Wylie.

jewels, taking imitation toys as valuable curiosities. This is just what good government regards as great harm, what the sage kings [of old] severely punished. . . . Chʻing-li is seeking to beguile your sage understanding to shake and subvert your lofty mind. Will your Majesty trust and allow it! This would be to publish corruption beneath the sky. If Chʻing-li persists in doing these things, this is what the prohibitory laws will not pardon. . . . Hsüan Tsung approved.[77]

3. In the ninth month of the twentieth K'ai-yüan year (October, 732) the king of Persia sent the chief P'an-na-mi with the monk of great virtue, Chi-lieh, as ambassadors with tribute.[78]

4. In the eighth (*sic*) month of the twentieth K'ai-yüan year on *kêng-hsü* (3 October, 732) the king of Persia sent the chief P'an-na-mi with the monk of great virtue Chi-lieh to come to do homage. [The Emperor] granted the chief the rank of Kuo-i and gave the monk a purple *kashāya* and fifty pieces of silk, and sent them home.[79]

5. In the I-ning quarter, north-east of the cross streets, is the foreign monastery of Persia.[80]

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[77] *Ts'ê fu yüan kuei* c. 546 fol. 3r°; *T'ang shu* c. 112 fol. 7v°. cf. J. KUWABARA, *Mem. Tōyō Bunko*, 2. pp. 6, 7. This passage, to which Professor PELLIOT kindly drew my attention, is interesting in several ways. It refers probably to the same visit of Chi-lieh in 713 as is mentioned on the Christian Monument (p. 41), rather than to his visit twenty years later as an ambassador, although the Emperor's approval (recorded in *T'ang shu*) of Liu Tsê's protest compares strangely with the extravagant praise of Chi-lieh on the Monument. The fact that he was closely associated with the Inspector of merchant shipping at Kuang chou (Canton) may be an indication that he had come to China by sea. Some additions and corrections to the *Ts'ê fu yüan kuei* text have been introduced from the *T'ang shu*.

[78] *Ts'ê fu yüan kuei* c. 971 fol. 9v°. cf. *Var. Sin.* 12. pp. 374, 384. This allusion to Chi-lieh (see p. 41 above) and the next were first published by Ed. CHAVANNES in *JA*, jan.–fév. 1897, p. 53.

[79] *Ts'ê fu yüan kuei* c. 975 fol. 13v°. "8th month" is apparently a mistake for "9th month" as *kêng-hsü* did not occur in the 8th month in 732.

[80] *Liang ching hsin chi*, A.D. 740 (in *Yüeh ya t'ang ts'ung shu* xii) c. 3 fol. 15, 16. cf. *Var. Sin.* 12. pp. 256, 381. The quarters (*fang*) or large rectangular blocks of buildings east and west of the Imperial City at Ch'ang-an were divided by cross streets into four parts. cf. WYLIE, *Chinese Researches*, part II. p. 54. The word *fang* often

6. In the ninth month of the fourth T'ien-pao year (October, 745) a decree was made saying, The Persian religion of the scriptures, starting from Ta-ch'in and coming to preach and practise, has long existed in the Middle Kingdom. When they first built monasteries [Persian] was consequently taken for the name. Wishing to show men the necessity of correct knowledge of the original [we decree that] the Persian Monasteries at the two capitals must be changed to Ta-ch'in Monasteries. Those which are founded in the departments and districts of the empire will also observe this.[81]

7. The petitioner was the man the doctor (*fa shih*) San-tsang. The doctor's Sanskrit name was Prajna (Pan-la-jo); in the T'ang language Çhih-hui (Wisdom); and he was a man of the kingdom of Kapiša (Chia-pi-shih) in northern India; . . . By birth he was of the Gautama (Ch'iao-ta-mo) clan; . . . In his seventh year his heart was awakened and he forsook the service of his parents and devoted himself to the Triratna (San-pao) . . . He actually followed his master to Kashmir (Chia-shih-mi) and by the age of twenty had fully learnt the rules of the vinaya(lü); . . . ; and in this kingdom studied the Lesser Vehicle for seven years. When he was twenty-three he went to the Monastery of Nalanda (Na-lan-t'o) in Middle India and learnt the Greater Vehicle, . . ., as a disciple of the three great šâstra masters, Chih-hu, Chin-yu, Chih-yu. At that time he was wandering about . . going and coming and worshipping for eighteen years. . . . He had heard of the great kingdom of China (Chih-na) that

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means an arch (*p'ai lou*) such as is commonly erected over the streets of Chinese cities, but here it was the regular name (substituted by the T'ang for the original *li*) for the quarters or spaces between the streets. The I-ning quarter was in the extreme west of the city, and the monastery seems to have been in the north-east angle of the cross formed by the two main streets. It ought to be possible to identify the site within a few yards, but I am not aware that this has yet been done. cf. p. 32 n. 9 and Plan of Ch'ang-an.

[81] *T'ang hui yao* c. 49 fol. 10v°. cf. *Var. Sin.* 12 pp. 255, 376. *Ching chiao*, "religion of the scriptures" or "books and teaching," is not a very common phrase and may be a mistake for *ching hsiang*, "books and images" (cf. p. 39 above). It is not identical in sound with *ching chiao*, the name which the Nestorians gave to their own church.

Manjusri (Wên-shu) was there; and he went eastward to great T'ang (China) vowing to preach the teaching of Buddha. Sailing on the sea he went far to the east; he met with dangers on board the ship. He had nearly reached Kuang chou (Canton) when a violent gale drove him off; and he went back all the way to the east coast of the Land of the Lion (Ceylon). He collected together goods and provisions afresh and repaired and strengthened the ship, and passing all along the South Sea route he arrived in the country. In the second Chien-chung year (A.D. 781) he had nearly reached Kuang fu (?Khanfu, Canton) when the wind blew and the ship was wrecked and many boats destroyed. It began in the fifth watch (3–5 a.m.) and ceased at sunrise, when half floating half sinking they luckily met with a fair wind. The goods which he was carrying and the Sanskrit books of *sûtra* and *šâstra*, after meeting with this accident he did not know where they were gone. But when he reached the sea-shore, there in a great bamboo tube on the white sand of the beach as if by unheard-of miracle [were his books, and] he recognized that the root and cause of the *Ta shêng li ch'ü lu po lo mi ching* (*Šatpâramitâ sûtra*) were familiar in the kingdom of great T'ang. Having travelled to the east for half a month he arrived at last at Kuang chou. In the third Chien-chung year (782) he reached the metropolis. In the second Chêng-yüan year (786) he found a relative from his native land, the commander of the Imperial body-guard Lo Hao-hsin, who was son of the uncle of Pan-jo San-tsang. They wept and laughed and comforted one another on the way to [Hao-hsin's] house. He treated his relation with the greatest affection and kept him and entertained him for a long time. Hao-hsin believed and reverenced the Triratna (*san pao*) and begged him to translate a Buddhist book; whereupon, with the help of Ching-ching a Persian monk of the Ta-ch'in Monastery, he translated the *Lu po lo mi ching* (*Šatpâramitâ sûtra*) from a *hu* copy, dividing it into seven chapters. Since at that time Prajna (Pan-jo) was unfamiliar with the *hu* language and did not yet understand the speech of T'ang, and Ching-ching did not know Sanskrit nor understand Buddhist doctrine, though they professed to have made a translation they had not caught half the gems. They were seeking for vain glory with no thought of doing good. They composed and presented a memorial with the intention and hope that [their work] would be published. His Majesty, endued with learning and intelligence and reverencing the law of Buddha, examined their translation. The doctrine was obscure, the style indifferent. Since a Buddhist convent (*ch'ieh-lan*) and a monastery of Ta-ch'in monks differ in customs and are wholly opposed to one another in their religious practices, Ching-ching must preach the teaching of Messiah (Mi-shih-hê) and the Buddhist monk (*sha-mên*) make known the *sûtra* of Buddha. We wish to have religious teaching well defined that men may have no uncertainty. Truth and error are not the same; the Ching and the Wei are not alike.[82]

8. Among the different foreigners who have come there are the Mo-ni (Manichees), the Ta-ch'in (Christians), and the Hsien-shên (Zoroastrians). All the monasteries of these three sorts of foreigners in the Empire together are not

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[82] *Chêng yüan hsin ting shih chiao mu lu* by Yüan-chao, A.D. 800, c. 17 fol. 1.; in the Tokyo edition of the Tripitaka, *t'ao* 38, vol. 7 fol. 5. Professor PELLIOT kindly tells me that this passage, with some different readings, is also found in an earlier book (*Ta t'ang chêng yüan hsü k'ai yüan shih chiao lu* c. 1) by the same author, dated 794 or 795 (*ibid.* vol. 5 fol. 98). The two passages will be found in *Taisho Tripitaka* vol. 55 pp. 756*a*, 891*c*, 892*a*. The passage was found by Professor TAKAKUSU who published the latter part of the text with an English version in the *T'oung-pao*, 1896, pp. 589–591. The same part of the text was reprinted in *Var. Sin.* 12. p. 384, with a French translation in 20. pp. 5, 6. cf. *The Open Court*, 1911, p. 451. The first part of the present text was copied with the greatest kindness by the late Professor T. L. BULLOCK from the copy of the Tripitaka at the Bodleian. The passage translated follows a quotation from the *Hsü fan i ching chi* to the effect that a Buddhist from Chi-pin had come and presented a petition to the Emperor who had assigned him a place in the Hsi-ming Monastery where he might translate his book. HAVRET's note on the way in which Ching-ching may have tried to turn the *Šatpâramitâ Sûtra* into a Christian treatise is interesting but not convincing (*Var. Sin.* 20. p. 6). The language called *hu* (a word which often means "foreign") was evidently not Sanskrit and may probably have been Sogdian (PELLIOT, *Les influences Iraniennes*, p. 15). The Ching and Wei were the typical clear and muddy streams (*Giles*, s.v.). For Ching-ching see pp. 35, 57 above.

enough to equal the number of our Buddhist monasteries in one small city.[83]

9. For the monks and nuns who came under the charge of the controllers of aliens making known the religions of foreign countries, they compelled the Ta-ch'in (Christians) and Mu-hu-fu (Zoroastrians) to the number of more than three thousand persons to return to lay life and to cease to confound the customs of China (Chung hua).[84]

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[83] *Ch'üan t'ang wên* c. 727 fol. 27r°. cf. *Chin shih ts'ui pien* c. 102 fol. 7r°, 8v°. The words occur in an inscription by Shu Yüan-yü which was engraved on stone in or very soon after the year 824 in the Ch'ung-yen Monastery in Yung-hsing hsien (the modern Hsing-kuo chou in Hu-pei). cf. PELLIOT, *BEFEO*, III. p. 319.; *Var. Sin.* 12. pp. 258, 394. For the Manichees cf. CHAVANNES & PELLIOT, *Un Traité Manichéen*, and for this passage, p. 246.

[84] *Chiu t'ang shu* c. 18*a* fol. 10v°. The decree which produced this result is here dated in " the seventh month of the fifth Hui-ch'ang year on *kêng-tzŭ* "; but there was no *kêng-tzŭ* day in the 7th month. The *T'ang shu* c. 8 fol. 7v°, gives the date as " the 8th month on *jên-wu* " or 12 September, 845, and in c. 52 fol. 5r° very vaguely as " when Wu Tsung ascended the throne." The *kêng-tzŭ* day of the 8th month fell on 30 September, 845. Mu-hu-fu is an incorrect form of Mu-hu-hsien; *hsien* being a rare word which has seldom had the good fortune to be printed correctly, its place being taken by *yao*, *fu*, or even by *ch'iu*. The number of foreign monks is given as 2000 in the *T'ang shu* l.c. The whole passage from the *Chiu t'ang shu* c. 18*a* fol. 10, is of great interest but too long to quote in full. It was determined to destroy all Buddhist monasteries in the empire. This was followed by a petition that each *chou* city of the upper rank might be allowed to retain one monastery, and that ten monasteries with ten monks in each might be left in the " two streets " of the Upper and Eastern Capitals (Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang). The reply was that in the upper *chou* cities monasteries of special beauty might be preserved if they were in good repair, but that official offering of incense (which had been the pretext for saving one monastery in each *chou*) must be made in Taoist temples; that two monasteries might be left in each " street " of the Upper and Lower Capitals with 30 monks in each monastery. The result of this was the preservation of the Tz'ŭ-ên and Chien-fu monasteries in the left or east street at Ch'ang-an and of the Hsi-ming and Chuang-yen monasteries in the west street. The government next petitioned that all the metal images, bells, and utensils in the monasteries destroyed should be melted down, the copper and brass for coins and the iron for agricultural tools, and that all metal images in the possession of laymen should be given up within a month, while all images of clay, wood, or stone should be left in the monasteries as before. As for the Ta-ch'in and Mu-hu temples, these heretical religions must not alone be left when the Buddhists have been suppressed; they must all be compelled to return to lay life and resume their original callings and pay taxes, or if they are foreigners

10. The I-ning quarter (originally named the Hsi-kuang quarter, changed in the first I-ning year (A.D. 617)): North of the east of the street is the foreign Monastery of Persia (in the twelfth Chêng-kuan year T'ai Tsung built it for A-lo-ssŭ a foreign monk of the kingdom of Ta-ch'in).[85]

11. Yen-fu says: The *Ch'êng tu chi* [says], On the site of the Stone Bamboo-sprouts and of the stone of the Lin-t'ing pool, when a shower has passed over, there are sure to be small pearls or dark yellow things like millet; they also have small holes which can be threaded with silk. Mêng-pi says: The *Shu tu ku shih* [says], The Stone Bamboo-sprouts are the site of the Pearl Tower. Long ago there were foreigners who built a monastery here to be a Ta-ch'in monastery. The ten divisions of the gate-tower all had blinds made of strings of pearls and blue jade. Afterwards it was destroyed and fell to the ground, but the original foundations are there. Every time that there is a

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they shall be sent back to their native places. Then follows the decree itself and a summary of the result: More than 4600 monasteries were destroyed in the empire, 260500 monks and nuns were secularized, more than 40000 smaller establishments suppressed, many thousands or myriads of *ch'ing* of land confiscated, more than 150000 men and women slaves set free. Then follows the passage translated above about the Christians and Zoroastrians. cf. *Ku wên yüan chien* c. 29 fol. 49r°; *T'ang hui yao* c. 47 fol. 16–18; *Tzŭ chih t'ung chien* c. 248 fol. 9; *Var. Sin.* 12. pp. 247–253, 376–380. The *Ch'ang an chih* c. 7 fol. 6r° quotes the *Liang ching hsin chi* to the effect that early in the 8th century there were in Ch'ang-an 64 Buddhist monasteries and 27 nunneries, 10 Taoist with 6 nunneries, 2 Persian, and 4 Mazdean; while a century earlier the Buddhist monasteries had been 120, the Taoist 10. And the *Ssŭ t'a chi* (*Taisho Tripitaka* vol. 51 p. 1024) says that the buildings of the Tz'ŭ-ên monastery contained 1897 rooms (*chien*) and 300 regular monks.

[85] *Ch'ang an chih*, A.D. 1076, (ed. *Ching hsün t'ang ts'ung shu*), c. 10 fol. 9r°. A-lo-ssŭ seems to be a slip for A-lo-pên (see p. 38 above). The modern *Ch'ang an hsien chih* c. 22 fol. 17, has the following notice: "Foreign monasteries of Persia; in the Li-ch'üan quarter. In the second I-fêng year (677) Pi-lu king of Persia requested that he might build a Persian monastery here. In Ching-lung (707–710) it was moved to the Pu-chêng quarter. Another was in the I-ning quarter. T'ai Tsung built it for A-lo-ssŭ a foreign monk of the kingdom of Ta-ch'in." cf. *Ch'ang an chih* c. 10 fol. 8r°; *Var. Sin.* 12. pp. 256, 258 (1), 381; *Liang ching hsin chi* fol. 10r°.

great rain the people in front and behind pick up many rare things like pearls, *shê-shê*, gold, and blue jade.[86]

12. (A) " I am indebted to our sinologue, Father Avvakum, for a curious extract from a Korean book, in which it is said : In the times of the T'ang dynasty, in the reign of T'ai Tsung, an ambassador was sent from the kingdom of Ta-ch'in to present religious books. From that time the histories make constant allusion [to Ta-ch'in]. Unfortunately we know neither the date of the composition of this Korean book nor the source from which the Korean author derived his information, the annals of his own land or those of China." [87]

(B) " In a Taoist book which deals with the mythical mission of Lao tzŭ to the lands of the West and was composed in the Sung dynasty we find the name Mi-shih-hê or Messiah standing side by side with the names of other divinities of the western nations. The author of this fabulous work might have learnt the name from records of the T'ang dynasty and not from a contemporary Christian community." [88]

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[86] *Tu kung pu shih chi* c. 7 fol. 8r°. cf. *Nêng kai chai man lu* (c. 1150) c. 7 fol. 22v° (in *Shou shan ko ts'ung shu*, tzŭ); *Tu shih ching ch'üan* c. 7 fol. 14v°. This interesting evidence of the existence of a Christian monastery at Ch'êng-tu was found by Professor PELLIOT who kindly told me of it. The reference to the *Tu shih ching ch'üan* I owe to Dr Florence AYSCOUGH. The note in the *Nêng kai chai man lu*, after enumerating the precious products of Ta-ch'in which it seems to say reached I chou (Ssŭ-ch'uan) by water (*shui tao t'ung I chou*), adds " so this monastery was one built by men of Ta-ch'in." The whole passage is a note on the line " When the rain is heavy they often find *shê-shê*," from TU Fu's Poem on the Stone Bamboo-sprouts. Tu himself says in the poem that the Stones were " at the west gate of I chou (Ch'êng-tu) ". The commentator TU T'ien says they (and consequently the monastery) were outside the west gate, while the *Shu chün ku shih* is quoted as saying that they were outside the west gate of the governor's residence (*ya*). The Stone Bamboo-sprouts (*shih sun*) were massive pillars of stone. TU T'ien says that the one on the north of the road was 16 feet high and 9·5 feet in girth, and that on the south 13 feet high and 12 feet in girth. Mr KUO Tzŭ-hsiung tells me they are still there. [TS'AI] Mêng-pi is the editor of *Tu kung pu shih chi* whose preface is dated 1204, and the copy of the book in the University Library at Cambridge is perhaps printed from the original blocks of that date. It is fair to add that the foundation of a Ta-ch'in monastery at Ch'ang-an for Manichees or Mazdeans (*mo ni huo hsien chiao*) in 631 is recorded in the *Fo tsu t'ung chi* c. 39. (*Taisho Tripitaka* vol. 49 p. 364*a*.) cf. CHAVANNES, *JA*, jan–fév. 1897, p. 61.

[87] This and the following note are translated by Professor PELLIOT from PALLADIUS's article " Traces of Christianity in China " in *Vostočnyï Sbornik*, tome I. 1877 (the Number in which this article appeared was actually published in 1873), pp. 18, 19, 20. It does not seem likely that this first extract is independent of the Chinese texts already known to us and given above.

The mentions of Christianity in contemporary Chinese authors of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries are very few, and what there are are either extremely vague or refer definitely to an already distant past, and we believe that nothing has yet been found to suggest that there were Christians surviving in China during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[89]

In August 1894 Father Havret heard from Monsignor Volonteri that about twenty years earlier (c. 1875) a monument containing the name of A-lo-pên had been shown him near the village of Pei-sha in the extreme north of Ho-nan. Havret's further inquiries by letter received the answer that the base of a stone tablet still existed and that the tablet itself had been removed about seven years before by local priests, apparently because they found that it was an object of interest to the Christians.[90]

Devéria in his *Notes d'Épigraphie Mongole-Chinoise*, p. 72, adds to the relics of the Nestorians a Syriac manuscript which was found in the hands of a Moslem at Peking (which however seems more likely to belong to a later period)[91] and three cemeteries. Two of these are close together at Pishpek and Tokmak far to the west of Kuldja, and four more are now known in the neighbourhood of Kuldja itself. The Tokmak cemetery, found in 1886, has no fewer than 612 stones almost all of which are said to have inscriptions in Syriac letters with various dates to about the middle of the fourteenth century.[92]

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[88] The book to which PALLADIUS refers was no doubt the *Yu lung ch'uan* (WIEGER, *Le Canon Taoïste* No. 766) by Chia Shan-hsiang. Compare CHAVANNES and PELLIOT, *Un Traité Manichéen* pp. 290, 291, where it will be seen that the 50th in a list 96 heretical sects is Mi-shih-hê wai tao or "heretics of Messiah". A third passage, from the *San ch'ao pei mêng hui pien*, is not relevant, as PALLADIUS made the easy slip of mistaking *shih tzŭ* for "cross" in a place where it means "ten characters".

[89] cf. however p. 24 above.

[90] *Var. Sin.* 12. p. 45(2).

[91] cf. p. 86 below.

[92] Rubens DUVAL in *JA*, nov.–déc., 1886; CHWOLSON, *Syrische grabinschriften aus Semirjctschie*, 7e série, in *Mém. de l'Académie imp. des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg*, tom. xxxiv. No. 4., 1886.

Devéria's third was found in August, 1890, by César de Brabander whose account is worth quoting. He wrote from Hsin-hua ch'êng on 1 September, 1890.

13. " I had been told that there was a Christian tomb several centuries old standing in the open fields five leagues north-east of the mission station. . . . But a fortnight ago a most trustworthy Christian told me that he had seen this tomb last year in the fifth month, and that there was a white marble cross set up on it, more than five feet high, and on the cross an inscription in a foreign language. . . . So the next day I rode to the spot indicated with two Christians and found absolutely nothing. . . . We were going to return disappointed when, with the help of my binoculars, I discovered a hill on the horizon with what looked like stone pillars standing on it. A good gallop brought us to the hill. Of white marble crosses there was not a trace. But on the other hand, instead of a single tomb, we found a vast cemetery of about an acre in extent. On seven of the more important tombs in this field of the dead there were stone slabs 7 or 8 feet high, 2 feet wide, and 1 foot thick. On each of these stones was a deep-cut cross. The crosses were not all alike and below them were engraved flowers or vases set on a table. The heaps of stones scattered about the cemetery showed about thirty graves. . . . Three days later I returned to the cemetery, this time with a Mongol who declared that he had seen the [marble] cross, and seen it in the place where we had found the graves. He led me straight to the place and showing me a marble base said, This is where the cross was. It has been stolen. . . . I soon learnt [from Mongols who had come up] that the lamas of Poro-oson-sume had taken away in the eleventh month of last year all the white stones (*i.e.* marble)—about ten of them, and all with crosses—as well as the great white marble cross, in order to use them for the repair of their monastery." [93]

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[93] *Revue des Missions en Chine et au Congo* No. 26., Mars, 1891. pp. 410–412. On p. 411 are drawings of the seven crosses (two of them on one stone) and of the other designs. The writer concludes by saying that local custom would regard Christian gravestones of whatever date as the property of the Christian church, and that he intended consequently to demand the return of his stones. But

14. And as regards the Bishops of whom the old man said that there should be two and forty, I will write down without delay the names both of those whom I myself saw, and of those which I learned from others, who were among that blessed congregation and who also were selected for consecration one after the other. First we will honour the holy person, the prophet and seer concerning whom is our discourse, Rabban Cyriacus who was elected Bishop of the city of Bâlâdh, as we shall show at the end; Rabban George the Metropolitan was elected Bishop of Elam, and afterwards Patriarch; Mâr Abraham was elected Bishop of Hadhattâ and afterwards Patriarch; . . . Mâr Elîyâ, whose history we are about to write, was elected Bishop of Mûkân, David was elected to be Metropolitan of Bêth Sînâyê—now I have learned concerning this man from the Epistles of Mâr Timothy—together with Peter his disciple, who was alive and held the office of Bishop of the country of Yâmân and of San'â when I was secretary to Mâr Abraham.[94]

15. In the year 377 (A.D. 987), in the Christian quarter behind the Church, I met a monk from Najran who seven years before had been sent by the Catholicos to China with five other clergy to set in order the affairs of the Christian church. I saw a man still young and of a pleasant appearance, but he spoke little and did not open his mouth except to answer the questions which were put to him. I asked him for some information about his journey, and he told me that

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whether he did so and, if he did, with what result does not seem to be recorded. The cemetery is about half-way between Peking and the ruins of Shang-tu, and would seem more probably to belong to the 13th or 14th century. cf. *Le Bulletin Catholique de Pékin*, 1924, pp. 54–56, where further details are given and six excellent photographs of the stones. The name of the cemetery is given as Shih chu tzŭ liang. The only indication of date was the discovery of alleged Sung pottery, and of 8 cash dated Shêng Tsung (983–1030), Chêng-ho (1111–1117), etc.

[94] *The Book of Governors*, translated by (Sir) E. A. W. Budge, 1893, vol. II. pp. 447, 448; Syriac text in vol. I. p. 238. The author, Thomas Bishop of Margâ, was secretary to Mâr Abraham the Patriarch for a short time between the years 832 and 840. Cyriacus, Abbot of the monastery of Bêth 'Abhê at the end of the eighth century, had learnt in a vision that 42 of the inmates of his monastery should become bishops. Bêth Sinâyê is China, of which David must have been Metropolitan early in the 9th century. cf. p. 20 above.

Christianity was just extinct in China; the native Christians had perished in one way or another; the church which they had used had been destroyed; and there was only one Christian left in the land. The monk having found no one remaining to whom his ministry could be of any use returned more quickly than he went.[95]

16. "I have examined the book carefully" writes Abu-Zaid "and find that it was written in the year of the Hijra 237 (A.D. 851)." And he found that the book was reliable, but a man who had been to China more recently modified some of the statements and said especially that the whole state of the country, security of travelling, and facilities for foreign trade had been changed by a great rebellion which had taken place. The leader of the rebellion had been named Banšu (Huang Ch'ao). "He marched first on Khanfu[96] which is one of the cities of China and the port at which the Arab merchants call. . . . The siege lasted a long time. It took place in the year of the Hijra 264 (A.D. 877/8). Having at last made himself master of the city, he put all the inhabitants to death. Persons well informed about these affairs relate that without counting the Chinese who were massacred there perished six score thousand Mahometans, Jews, Christians, and Parsis, who were living in the city and doing business there. The exact number of those who perished of these four religions could be known because the Chinese levied a tax on these foreigners according to their number."[97]

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[95] *Kitab al Fihrist* (Bib. Nat., MS. arabe 4458 fol. 227v°). The author, Abu'l FARADJ, wrote at Baghdad about the end of the 10th century. cf. PELLIOT, *Influences Iraniennes*, p. 15.

[96] Khanfu is very probably Kuang fu (Canton). cf. p. 68 above, ISHIBASHI, *Shigaku Zasshi*, Sept. 1901, pp. 50, 51, and PELLIOT, *BEFEO*, IV. p. 215(3).

[97] *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*, 1718; *Seconde Relation ou Discours d'Abouzeid el Hacen Sirafien*; pp. 49, 51, 52. This book is the translation by E. RENAUDOT of a 12th century Arabic MS. The first part (1*re Relation*) is the story of a traveller (whose name is given without clear authority as Sulayman) who had been in China, and was written A. H. 237. The second part consists of corrections and additions collected from travellers by Abu-Zaid who does not profess to have been in China himself. The Arabic text was published with a new version by REINAUD under the title of *Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes* . . in 1845. cf. G. FERRAND, *Voyage du Marchand Sulayman*, etc., 1922, p. 76; and

17. "There was once a man at Basra of the tribe of the Kuraish named Ibn Wahab, a descendant of Hebar son of El Asud. Leaving Basra when the town was sacked he came to Siraf where he found a vessel about to sail for China. He was seized with a desire to embark in this same vessel and was carried by it to China. He next had a curiosity to go to the Emperor's court, and starting from Khanfu he reached Khumdan (Ch'ang-an) after a journey of two months. . . . When we saw this man he was very aged but was still sound in mind. He told us that when he was received in audience the Emperor of China asked him many questions about the Arabs, and in particular how they had destroyed the dominion of Persia. . . . Next the king said to the interpreter, Ask Ibn Wahab if he would know his Master, meaning the Prophet, if he were to see him. . . . Then the king had a box brought, and when it was opened and set before him he took from it some rolls of paper and said to the interpreter, Let him see his Master. I saw then on these rolls of paper the portraits of the prophets and moved my lips, praying in honour of their memory. . . . I said to him next, Here is Jesus on his ass, with his Apostles. He, said the king, was not long on the earth, for all that he did took place in the space of a little more than thirty months."[98]

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review by PELLIOT, *T'oung-pao*, 1922, pp. 399–413. The siege of Canton (Kuang chou) by Huang Ch'ao seems to have begun in June, 879. cf. *T'ang shu* c. 225*c* fol. 2v°; *Chiu t'ang shu* c. 19*b* fol. 6v°. The siege is put in Sept.–Oct., 879, by *Tzŭ chih t'ung chien* c. 253 fol. 26v°, and J. KUWABARA has maintained in "The Khanfou Question and the Date of its Fall" (*Shi-rin*, Jan., 1919) that the date was really 878; cf. *Mem. Toyo Bunko* 2. p. 11. An attack on Kuang chou by Arab and Persian troops in October, 758, is mentioned in *Chiu t'ang shu* c. 10 fol. 7r°.

[98] *Anciennes Relations*, 2*de Rel.* pp. 63–68; FERRAND, *op. cit.* pp. 85–89. The date of Ibn Wahab's visit to China was the second half of the 9th century. The portraits, which included that of Mahomet, must have been Moslem rather than Christian in origin.

CHAPTER III

THE ZAITUN CROSSES AND OTHER RELICS

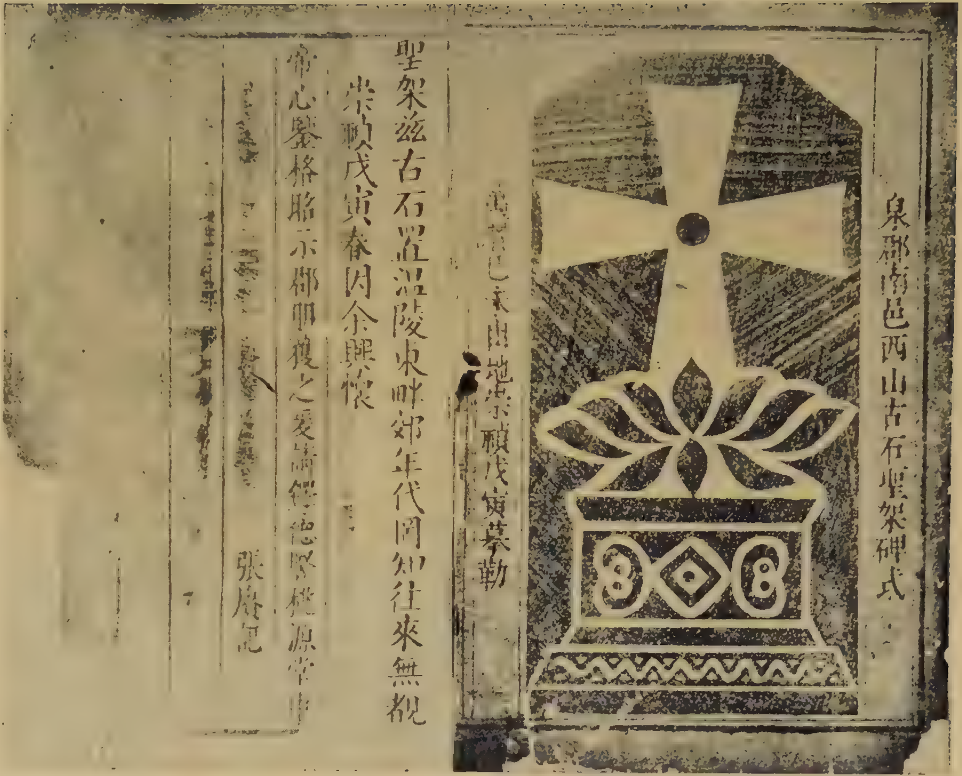
HITHERTO we have been occupied with the traces of Christianity in China during the first thousand years of the Christian era and have seen that by the year 1000 it appears, as far at least as records can show, to have been practically extinct. But with the rise of the Mongol power in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Nestorian Christians, followed later by Catholics, began to come eastward once more. The documentary evidence of the presence of Christians in China during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is very considerable. The evidence from Chinese sources is indeed far too much to be included with anything like completeness in a book of this size. On the other hand the material relics which survived into modern times or still survive are surprisingly few, and it is proposed to deal with them in this chapter before passing on to the fuller evidence which may be drawn from Western or Eastern books and other documents.

Figs. 9 and 10 are copies of woodcuts which occupy two leaves of *T'ang ching chiao pei sung chêng ch'üan*, a commentary on the Christian Monument at Hsi-an by Emmanuel Diaz S.J., printed at Hang-chou in 1644. The notes which accompany the first Cross (Fig. 9) are as follows:

1. The likeness of an ancient stone tablet with the holy Cross at Hsi shan, Nan city, in the department of Ch'üan [-chou].

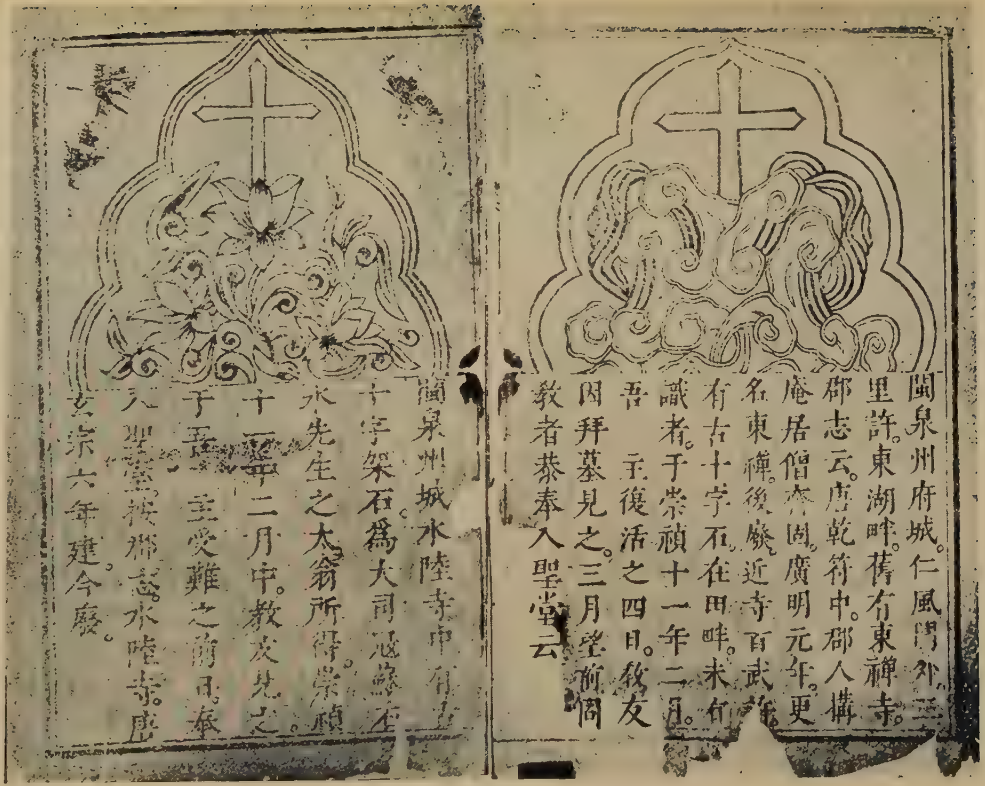
It was dug up in *chi-wei* of Wan-li (A.D. 1619), copied and engraved in *mou-yin* of Ch'ung-chêng (A.D. 1638).

This old stone with the holy Cross had been lying at the Tung p'an chiao in Wên-ling for an unknown number of years. Going and coming we had not seen it. In the spring


泉郡南邑西山古石聖架碑式
萬曆己未出土崇禎戊寅摹勒
聖架茲右石置溫陵東畔郊年代罔知往來無覩
崇禎戊寅春因余與懷
帝心馨格臨示鄉卿獲之爰命鑱德堅樹源堂中
張賡記

THE FIRST CH'ÜAN-CHOU CROSS

Fig.



B

閩泉州城水陸寺中。有古十字架石。爲大司寇蘇石水先生之太翁所得。崇禎十一年二月中。教友見之。于吾　主受難之前日。奉入聖堂。按郡志。水陸寺。唐玄宗六年建。今廢。

A

閩泉州府城。仁風門外。三里許。東湖畔。舊有東禪寺。郡志云。唐乾符中。郡人構庵居僧齊固。廣明元年。更名東禪。後廢。近寺百武許有古十字石。在田畔。未有識者。于崇禎十一年二月。吾　主復活之四日。教友因拜墓見之。三月望前。聞教者恭奉入聖堂云

CH'ÜAN-CHOU CROSSES

facing p. 80

of *mou-yin* of Ch'ung-chêng, since my devotion to the mind of God was aroused, taught and enlightened [by him, I and my] local friends found it, and then begged the priest to set it up in the church at T'ao-yüan.

Note by Chang Kêng.[1]

The note to the second Cross (Fig. 10 A.) reads:

2. At the city of Ch'üan-chou fu in Min, more than three *li* outside the Jên-fêng gate, on the shore of the East Lake, there used to be the Tung-ch'an monastery. The *Description of the Department* (*chün chih*) says: The natives built the monastery, and the full complement of resident monks was established, in Ch'ien-fu (A.D. 874–879) of the T'ang. In the first Kuang-ming year (880) they changed the name to Tung-ch'an; later it ceased to exist. At a distance of rather more than a hundred paces from the monastery was an ancient stone with a cross [carved on it], at the side of a field, of which no one had known before. In the second month of the eleventh Ch'ung-chêng year, on the fourth-day of the Resurrection of our Lord (7 April, 1638), some members of the Church saw it when they were worshipping at the graves. On the day before full moon in the third month (27 April) those of the same religion reverently presented and placed it in the Church.[2]

[1] As reprinted at Shanghai, 1878, the *T'ang ching chiao pei sung chêng ch'üan* consists of (1) Preface by DIAZ, 24 Feb., 1641; (2) Text of the Hsi-an inscription; (3) Postscript by LI Chih-tsao, 12 June, 1625, not in the original edition; (4) Notes on the inscription; (5) the woodcuts of these three Zaitun Crosses. According to L. GAILLARD, *Var. Sin.* 3. p. 165, the Crosses are at the beginning of the original edition. By the kindness of the Rector and Librarian of Zikawei the photographs here reproduced were taken from a copy of the original edition in their library. cf. *Var. Sin.* 12. pp. 95, 96, 175, 176.

Hsi shan is marked on the contemporary map in the *Ch'üan chou fu chih*, 1612, maps fol. 1, 2 (see Fig. 17), south-west of the district city of Nan-an, here called Nan city, which is 15 *li* west of Ch'üan-chou according to the *fu chih*, c. 4 fol. 6v°; 6 miles on BRETSCHNEIDER'S map, 1900; 45 *li* north-west in *Var. Sin.* 12. p. 96; and 20 miles west-north-west on RICHARD'S map, 1908. Wên-ling was the name of Ch'üan-chou in the Sui dynasty. T'ao-yüan was the tenth century name of Yung-ch'un chou, 120 *li* (HAVRET) or 21 or 25 miles north-north-west of Ch'üan-chou.

[2] See preceding note. cf. *Var. Sin.* 12. pp. 176, 177; 3. p. 166. The Jên-fêng gate and the East Lake (Tung Hu) are plainly marked on the map. It has been impossible to verify the statement about

The note to the third Cross (Fig. 10 B.) reads:

3. In the Shui-lu monastery in Ch'üan-chou city in Min there was an ancient stone [carved] with a cross, which was obtained by the honoured father of Mr Su Shih-shui President of the Board of Punishments. In the second month of the eleventh Ch'ung-chêng year (March, 1638) some members of the Church saw it, and on the day before our Lord's Passion (1 April) they presented and placed it in the Church. According to the *Description of the Department* the Shui-lu monastery was built in the sixth [T'ien-pao] year of Hsüan Tsung of the T'ang. It now no longer exists.[3]

These three crosses, which were all found in the department—one in and a second very near the city—of Ch'üan-chou, may reasonably be regarded as relics of the Nestorian or Catholic Christianity of Zaitun (Ch'üan-chou) in the fourteenth century. The crosses themselves do not seem to have survived, and even a fourth which was found by P. Serafin Moya in a temple in or near Ch'üan-chou in 1906, and of which a photograph was published by Professor Pelliot in the *T'oung-pao*, Dec., 1914, is said to have disappeared.[4] None of the Zaitun stones seem to have had inscriptions.

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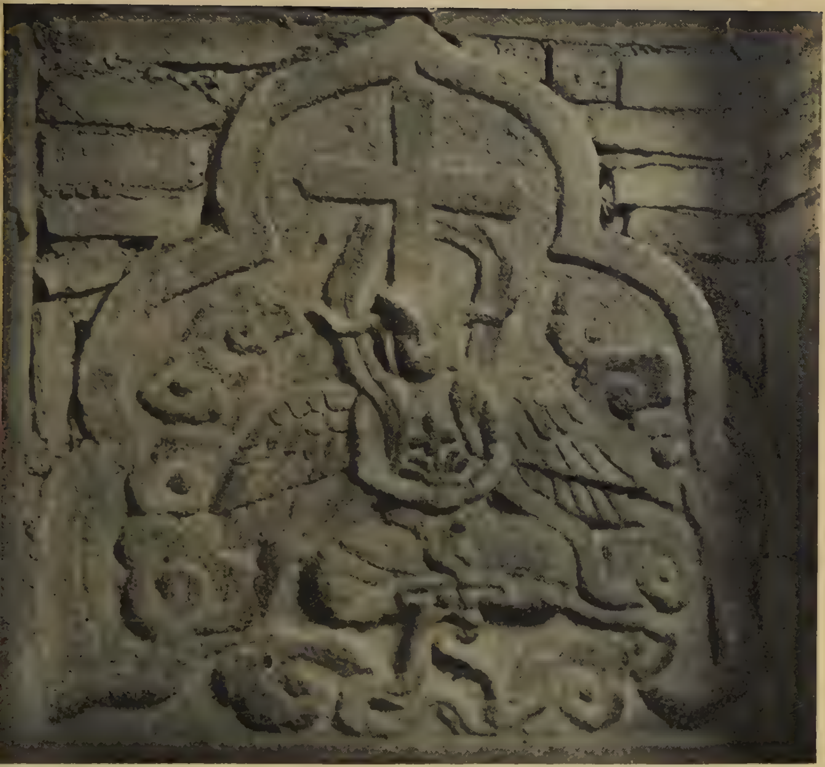
the Tung-ch'an monastery as fol. 19 and 20 of c. 24 of the *Ch'üan chou fu chih*, where it would come, are missing in the British Museum copy. In the *Fu chien t'ung chih* it seems that there were two Tung-ch'an monasteries, the accounts of which may have been combined by our author. Under Chin-chiang hsien in c. 62 fol. 49 we read: *Tung-ch'an monastery*; on the shore of the East Lake: *Fa-shih monastery*; . . .: *Kuang-chiao monastery*; . . .: *Shui-lu monastery*; south-west of the prefect's residence. In the 6th T'ien-pao year (747) of the T'ang a pool for setting free live creatures was made and so the Shui-lu hall was built. In Ch'ien-fu (874–879) the prefect Lin Hu enlarged it. In Chia-yu (1056–1063) of the Sung Ts'ai Hsiang changed it into a retreat for meditation. In Hung-wu (1368–1398) of the Ming the name was changed to its present form: *Tung-ch'an monastery*; east of the prefect's residence. It was built in Ch'ien-fu of the T'ang and repaired in the 10th Hsüan-tê year (1435) of the Ming.

Min is a name for the province of Fu-chien in common use.

[3] See preceding notes and *Var. Sin. l.c.*

[4] Greg. ARNAÏZ, "Les Antiquités Musulmanes de Ts'iuan-tcheou," *T'oung-pao*, 1911, p. 688: Aun hay mas todavia. Hace unos cuatro años el actual misionero de *Choan-chiu* (Ch'üan-chou), R. P. Fr. Serafin Moya, encontró en una pagoda de la localidad una cruz



A CROSS FOUND AT CH'ÜAN-CHOU
1906

Fig. 11.

facing p. 80.

This is not the place to enter into the question of the identity of Zaitun, whether it was Ch'üan-chou or rather Hai-ch'êng in the department of Chang-chou. But the discovery of these crosses at Ch'üan-chou has a slight bearing on the point which deserves mention. To Yule's note (*Marco Polo*, II. pp. 237–241) Cordier added these words: "I remember that the argument brought forward by Mr Phillips in favour of Chang-chou which most forcibly struck Sir H. Yule, was the finding of various Christian remains at this place." Mr Phillips (*JNCBRAS*, 1888, pp. 27, 28) appears to have relied on the following passages from Martini's *New Atlas of China* and Ferrando's *History of the Dominican Fathers in the Philippine Islands*:

"The second city CIVENCHEV (Ch'üan-chou).

". . . It is from this city and from others subject to it that many ships have been and are accustomed to sail to various ports to trade there. And this makes me believe that Marco Polo the Venetian's Zarte (Zaitun) was near here; for he says that it was five days' journey from Focheu (Fu-chou), which he names Fugui, and this town is at the same distance. I know that Marco Polo's word Zarte is not Chinese, but it may be believed that it is the name by which the Tartars and foreigners called some well known harbour here. The description of the following city, where we shall find many signs that these places were in old days actually frequented by Christians, points to the same conclusion.

"The third city CHANGCHEV (Chang-chou).

". . . I find that the name was first given to this city

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tallada en piedra, y es parecida á dos de las tres que menciona el R. P. Manuel Diaz S.J., encontradas en *Choan-chiu*, diferenciándose de aquellas en que esta tiene esculpido un angel. El 31 de Octubre de este año 1910 saqué una fotografia de ella. ARNAÏZ deals with the Ch'üan-chou Crosses and with their bearing on the identification of Zaitun on pp. 687, 688 of his valuable article. I am obliged to the editor and publishers of the *T'oung-pao* for leave to reproduce this most interesting photograph. As PELLIOT wrote (*T'oung-pao*, 1914, p. 644): Ce monument infiniment curieux soulève des problèmes d'origine assez délicats. I am not aware that anything further has been published on the subject since 1914, and it is a pity that more precise details about the history, exact place of discovery, and present fate of the stone are not available. The close resemblance between this and two of the 17th century Crosses (especially the one found by the East Lake) suggests a common date and origin for the three and incidentally shows the accuracy of the old engravings.

under the family of Tanga (T'ang) [5] and that then it was first granted the position of a prefecture (*chou*). Not long afterwards the family of Iuena (Yüan) constituted the city [as a *lu*],[6] and at the same time built the town of Nancing (Nanching); which makes me sure that at that time very many ships called here, and that Marco Polo's Zarte was somewhere here. Many clear traces of Christians have moreover been found in this city, and in the very walls not a few stones marked with the sign of the Cross of salvation; and also images of the most holy Virgin Mary, Mother of God, with angels prostrate on the ground; and two little hanging lamps. And in the palace of a certain governor a very beautiful marble cross was found, which the Christians took away, when they had had leave to do so, and placed in the church which we have in this city with much devotion and pomp. My companions and I also saw here an old book in the house of a scholar, very well written in Gothic letters, on the thinnest parchment in place of paper and containing the greater part of the holy Scripture in Latin. I tried to obtain the book, but its owner, though he was a heathen, could not be prevailed upon by entreaty or money to give it up; for he said that the book had been kept in his family for many generations past as a most rare relic of antiquity." [7]

The other passage is this:

"Liu Sung, a polished Chinese author, assures us likewise that in Lu-ling (Lü-ling, the capital district of Chi-an prefecture), a place in the province of Chiang-hsi, there was in his day (*c.* 1375) a very ancient iron cross, with a special inscription of [the date of] the emperor Vi-chien-u (Wu Ch'ih-wu, A.D. 238–251) who ruled great Cathay about the year 200 after our Christian era. Another cross was found in the eighth century when they were building the walls of Ziuen-cheu (Ch'üan-chou) in the province of Fu-chien, and was placed respectfully on the side which faced toward the east, at the height of six feet. Such was the awe, and even the traditional faith, with which the inhabitants of the country regarded it that, according to some, the city could not be destroyed as long as that precious symbol of salvation and life remained in it. The same Father Ricci had the satisfaction of placing in his Church another most beautiful cross, carved on a stone, which the infidels of the same city had found buried in a neighbouring hill called Say-sou, nobody knowing when it had been made and buried."[8]

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[5] *Chiu t'ang shu* c. 40 fol. 12. The name and rank of Chang chou was given in January, 686, and again, permanently, in 758.

[6] A.D. 1279. cf. *Yüan shih* c. 62 fol. 9.

[7] Martinus MARTINI, *Novus Atlas Sinensis* [,1655 ?,] pp. 125, 126.

Martini refers definitely to Chang-chou, but the temptation to guess that he has confused the two places is almost irresistible, and his own inference with regard to the identity of Zaitun is as vague as possible. The story of the discovery of a Cross in the house of "a certain governor" and of its installation in the Church is exactly like that of the third Ch'üan-chou Cross (p. 80) which was found in the house of a President of the Board of Punishments and installed in the Church by the Christians. Martini, who had not reached China when the Ch'üan-chou Crosses were found in 1638, can have had little chance of becoming really familiar with these regions during his ten or twelve years in China, and if the Chang-chou Crosses depend on his sole testimony their existence can hardly be considered certain. For it is hard to see how Mr Phillips turned Ricci's Ziuen-cheu into Chang-chou, and the cross found in the hill called Say-sou may be taken almost for certain to be one of the three crosses in Diaz's book, especially as it has been suggested that Say-sou very closely resembles *Sai soa*, the local pronunciation of Hsi shan where the first of those crosses was found (p. 78). Ricci does not tell us where "his Church" was, and there may be some mistake on the part of the modern editor since Ricci did not enter China till ten or eleven years after the record of the setting up of all three crosses had been published by Diaz at Hang-chou in 1644.

The passage quoted above from the *History of the Dominican Fathers* mentions two other crosses. One of these was found "in the eighth century" when the walls of Ch'üan-chou were built, and was built into the east wall of the city, and the statement, added to Martini's vaguer words, is perhaps the foundation of Mr Phillips's sentence: "According to the history of the Spanish Dominicans in China, ruins of churches were used in rebuilding the city walls, many of the stones having crosses cut on them." The walls (*lo ch'êng*) of Ch'üan-chou were built in the Pao-ta period of the Southern T'ang (A.D. 943–958) with a circuit of 20 *li* or about six miles, and with seven gates.[9] Michael Boym also describes the discovery of a cross in Fu-chien under circumstances which suggest some confusion with the finding of the Christian monument at Hsi-an, and adds that "many other similar crosses have been found."[10] Boym is said also to be the original authority for European authors for the "very ancient iron cross" at Lü-ling in Chiang-hsi. This "cross" is one of three large iron objects which measure about 6 feet in length and are of the shape known to heralds as *fer-de-moline*.[11] The other two are at Nan-ching (Nanking), one in the city and one outside the walls; and as all three have become objects of awe to the heathen and have been claimed as Christian relics by Christians it seems best to repeat here parts of two of the passages paraphrased by Gaillard from native authors who give a prosaic and un-Christian origin to these curious things. The *Description of Chi-an fu* says: "The iron cross is south of the *fu* city, outside the barrier, by the river side. The inscription says it was placed here on a day in the fifth month of the second Pao-ta year (June, 944). It weighs 1300 catties (about 1750 lbs.). Below is a pond, and sometimes when the water is clear and shallow you may see another cross. The tradition is that under the Southern T'ang they built war ships here and used these as anchors. Or they say that there used formerly to be a timber yard, and that the merchants made floats [of timber] at this point . . . and so placed these things to which to moor the floats."[12]

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[8] *Historia de los PP. Dominicos en las Islas Filipinas y en sus misiones del Japon, China*, etc. by Juan FERRANDO, Madrid, 1870, etc., tom. II. p. 318. The authority for the latter part of this passage, at least, seems to be "historia manuscrita sobre los hechos de nuestros religiosos en la China (lib. I, cap. iii)" by P. Fr. Victorio RICCI. cf. *Scriptores Ord. Praed.*, vol. 2. p. 667; where it will be seen that RICCI reached Manila in 1648, but did not land at Amoy till July, 1655, or 1654 (p. 709). Liu Sung is in the Spanish Sien-sung, a misprint for Lieu-sung.

Liu Sung, who is quoted by Ferrando, was an official and poet of the fourteenth century, and wrote a "Song of the Iron Cross" (*T'ieh shih tzŭ ko*) of which the following is an abridged paraphrase. "By the river side at Lü-ling is an iron cross. It is not known in what age, or in what year, by whom it was made, nor who put it here; what it is called, for what it was used, or to what to compare it. The shape is the junction of four horns which project sideways, the arms measuring 3 feet and fashioned with rounded ends. Through the dripping rain and scorching sun it has become black and smooth, spotted and blotched in appearance like the scales of the *t'o* fish on the bottom of a stream.[13] Men say that in the Southern T'ang this was the site of a bamboo and timber yard, and that they cast these to anchor the rafts and floats. One was sunk in the river, one was exposed on the bank. Whether this is true or false how can one divine? Or they say that these were an ancient device for restraining uncanny water creatures. . . . If one carries iron over them it becomes copper. . . . I have seen them several times and examined their shape. The Ch'ih-wu year (p. 82 above) is a spurious embellishment. . . . I weep while I think of their rise and fall." [14]

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[9] *Ch'üan chou fu chih* c. 4 fol. IV°.

[10] *Relations de divers Voyages*, part II, 1664, *Briefve Relation de la Chine* p. 8.

[11] *Var. Sin.* 3. pp. 233–243; esp. p. 239 where BOYM is quoted from KIRCHER'S *China Illustrata*, 1667, p. 9.

[12] *Var. Sin.* 3. pp. 270, 240, where the *Chi an fu chih* is quoted without exact reference.

Almost the only relic of the Franciscan mission is a Latin Bible of the thirteenth century which was obtained at Ch'ang-chou in Chiang-su by P. Philip Couplet S.J. towards the end of the seventeenth century, and is now in the Laurentian Library at Florence where it was seen in an irreparable state of decay by Professor G. Vacca of Rome on 13 June, 1923. Professor Vacca writes: "Professor Rostagno and myself have been unable to find any mark indicating the possessor of the book, or even if the book had been in China, excepting the yellow silk" in which it is still wrapped.[15] It seems to be quite possible that this is the book which Martini says he saw at Chang-chou (p. 82 above), even if he did not confuse Chang-chou with Ch'ang-chou.

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[13] The *t'o* or *sha* is a small spotted fish that blows and burrows in the sand.

[14] *Var. Sin.* 3. pp. 272 (Chinese text with no reference), 242. Liu Sung graduated at the end of the Yüan dynasty, held office under the first Ming emperor, and died in 1381. cf. *Ming shih* c. 137 fol. 7.

[15] Manuscript note by Professor VACCA, kindly sent me by Mr L. C. HOPKINS. cf. also *Bibl. Mediceo-Lavrentianae Catal.* by A. M. BISCIONI, tom. I, 1752, p. 121. Pluteus III. Capsula I. BIBLIA LATINA VVLGATAE EDITIONIS. *Biblia Latina vulgatae editionis*, quae e Sina in hac Bibliotheca dicata fuere, prope praeteriti saeculi finem: cuique infrascriptum testimonium adnexum fuit. "*S. Biblia* inventa in Sina apud Ethnicum quemdam commorantem in civitate, *Cham Xo* dicta, Provinciae *Nankim*. Affirmabat hic ea esse a maioribus suis relicta iam inde a temporibus familiae regiae, *ijuén* dicta, quae fuit Tartarorum Occidentalium, qui a 400. & amplius annis Sinam occuparunt. cum quibus venit *Marcus Polus Venetus*, qui probabiliter ex Europa ea secum attulerit, aut quivis alius Europaeus. Fides sit penes authorem.

"Ita censeo
"*Philippus Couplet S.I.*
"*e Sina in Vrbem Procurator.*"

Cod. Lat. membr. MS. saec. circiter XIII. sed mancus, ac valde lacer in 8.

Professor VACCA adds on the authority of Prof. ROSTAGNO that it is "probably written in Northern Italy."

There is a Syriac manuscript in the John Rylands Library at Manchester which was copied for de Mailla at Peking in 1727, from a book which was said to have been brought to China in the thirteenth century. The original was in the possession of Lyeou-yu-si (Liu Yü-hsi), a Moslem official whose ancestors had been Jews. The facts that the Psalms were called "The Prophecy of the Psalms of the Messiah Son of God," that hymns by Barsuma, S. Ephrem, James of Nisibis, and other Christian authors were included, and that the whole was written in Syriac seem to show that the book was Christian rather than Jewish, and may have been a relic of the medieval Nestorian Church. It is, however, said to be dated A.G. 1064, A.H 134; that is presumably in the winter of A.D. 751/2.[16]

The most certain and interesting relics of these later Nestorians are two carved stones in a temple called Shih-tzŭ ssŭ (Cross Monastery) or Ch'ung-shêng yüan which stands "in a picturesque and secluded position near the foot of the San-p'ên hill" six or seven miles north-west of Fang-shan and about forty miles west-south-west of Peking. "Close to the temple flows a small stream." Over the gate is an inscription, "The ancient monastery the meditation grove of the Cross", dated as recently as 1917. The monastery with its Christian title was first reported by Mr H. I. Harding in the *New China Review*, July, 1919, p. 321. This was followed in October, 1919, pp. 522–533, by an article by "Christopher Irving" who, taking shelter in the temple from a thunderstorm in the summer apparently of 1919, found the two carved stones in question. In the *New China Review*, 1920, p. 421, was a further note by Mr Harding with a copy of an inscription which had escaped the notice

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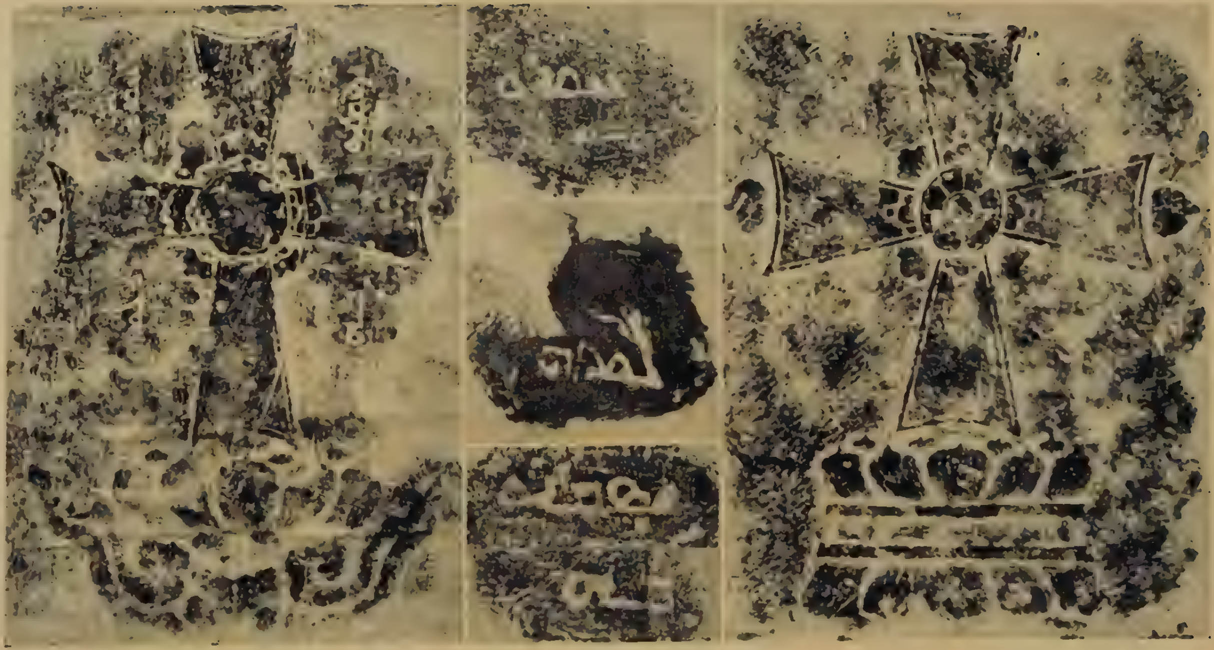
[16] *Notices et Extraits des Monuments*, tome 12, 1831, pp. 277–286, where letters from de MAILLA (23 June, 1727), GAUBIL (23 June, 1727), and HERVIEU (15 Dec., 1727) are quoted. A. MINGANA, *The Early Spread of Christianity* (*The Bulletin of the John Rylands Lib.*, July, 1925) pp. 38, 42, 43, where it is pointed out that the two dates do not agree together.



THE FANG-SHAN CROSSES

1919

Fig. 12

facing p. 87.

of "Christopher Irving". From this material, supplemented by notes and by rubbings of the stones procured by the great kindness of the post-master at Fang-shan, through Mr Arlington and the late Mr Couling, and by the articles in *Le Bulletin Catholique de Pékin*, the following description has been compiled. The stones formed in 1919 the south-west and south-east corners of the terrace in front of the chief hall of the temple. They "are practically identical in shape, size and decoration. . . . The [western] stone is 2 feet 3 inches high and about 1 foot 11 inches broad." If we look from above "we perceive that there is a deep rectangular recess in the side that faces the north. This recess is about 11 inches deep and 12 inches wide. So long as the stone remains in its present position, and therefore cannot be thoroughly examined, it would be futile to speculate as to the purpose served by this recess; nor is it possible to say whether there is any decoration on the concealed eastern face of the stone. The two visible surfaces—those on the south and west sides—are those with which we must at present rest satisfied: and they are certainly well worthy of attention. The decoration on the western face is a floral one. On a slightly recessed panel, a vase of simple shape (broad at the mouth, slightly narrower at the bottom) stands on a small rectangular pedestal; and from the mouth of the vase protrude plants which, as far as I could judge, are intended to represent the lotus, chrysanthemum and plum-blossom. The decoration on the southern face is that which appears in the illustration. . . . The circles in the centre may be intended to represent a flower, possibly a lotus, in full bloom." The same description, putting east for west and west for east, will apply to the eastern stone as well. "The monks informed me" the writer proceeds "that, according to the tradition handed down to them, the two stones were found under the floor of the *T'ien-wang-tien* [the first building of this as of most Buddhist temples] during the restoration which took place in 1357, and were placed in their present positions merely because of their decorative carving." The original use of the stones is hard to guess. Placed with the north sides together they might form a sort of coffer, but such a thing would more probably be made of one piece of stone. "Christopher Irving" devotes some space to the coincidence that the official name of this Cross Monastery is the same (Ch'ung shêng) as that of one of the popular names of the monastery in which the Christian monument at Hsi-an stood from 1625 till 1907. The coincidence is interesting, but probably not significant. The inscription is on the eastern stone, in the angles, as will be seen, of the cross. It was read from a rubbing and explained by Professor F. C. Burkitt as follows: "Look ye unto it and hope in it."[17] The style of the writing, though archaic, does not seem to make the thirteenth century an unlikely date. Professor Burkitt has found the same text, with the addition of the words "the living cross", written up the middle of a curious cross which forms the frontispiece to St. Luke's Gospel in a Syriac manuscript in the British Museum.[18]

The stones seem to have been moved, or at least buried, soon after it was found that they were attracting attention, and they had to be dug out to allow the rubbings here reproduced to be made. It is to be hoped that they have been and will be carefully preserved.

It may be noticed that the distance of the spot from Peking and its position make it perhaps possible that it was near the retreat of the monk Rabban Sauma which will be described below (p. 96). On the other hand the two inscriptions which survive in the monastery make it clear that it dates from "the Chin or T'ang" dynasty, and give some vague reason to guess that the crosses (or one of them) may have been there before the year 960. The first inscription is dated 960[19] and states that when the Ch'ung-shêng monastery was found in ruins in the year 952 a "stone

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[17] The inscription (ܚܘܪܘ ܠܘܬܗ ܘܣܒܪܘ ܒܗ Psalm 34 v. 5(6)) with a note by Professor BURKITT was printed in *JTS*, vol. xxii. p. 269.

[18] Add. 14459 fol. 67r°. The MS. is of the 6th century, but the writing in the cross is in "a comparatively modern hand" according to WRIGHT's Catalogue.

[19] The date is given as "the 10th Ying-li year, *ping-tzŭ*." The nearest *ping-tzŭ* year was 976, according to P. Hoang's tables, and not in the Ying-li period at all. The years 952 and 958 (calculated by the regnal years) are mentioned in the inscription, and in each case the cyclical year is added with the same error of 16 years.

ch'uang" survived. A *ch'uang* is a pillar built up of a number of carved stone drums, such as is commonly seen in Buddhist temples. The second inscription, dated 23 January, 1365, records the imperial grant of the title "Monastery of the Cross" (Shih-tzŭ ssŭ) in consequence of a vision seen by the monk Ching-shan. The buildings were again in ruins, but two *ch'uang* survived. One evening some ten years before 1365 as Ching-shan sat in contemplation in the monastery a spirit appeared and spoke to him. As soon as the spirit had gone "a brilliant light poured from the cross on the ancient *ch'uang*." The monk woke from his trance and wrote these lines. "It was with a reason that I came to wander on this hill. In my meditation I met a spirit who spoke. The cross shed an appearance of brightness. Great is the good fortune of this place." From this it seems possible at least to guess that the crosses may have formed part of a *ch'uang* which was already old in 960; but on the other hand the existence of Christianity at Peking is well attested for the thirteenth century but, as far as I know, quite without corroboration for the earlier date. Neither of the inscriptions contains any explicit reference to Christianity, and though the granting of the title "Monastery of the Cross" to a purely Buddhist monastery seems likely to have caused confusion when that was the technical name of Christian monasteries, there can be no doubt that this monastery had been Buddhist in the past and was rebuilt as Buddhist, "with images of the three Buddhas, the eighteen Lo-han", and so forth, in 1365. But this does not make it impossible that it had at one time been in the possession of Christians. And finally the likeness of these crosses to the first of the Zaitun crosses (Fig. 9) is sufficiently great to suggest that that also may be Nestorian.[20]

From a manuscript *Relatio Sinæ Sectarum* by Antonius a S. Maria (missionary in China, 1633–1669) which is kept in the archives of the Propaganda at Rome An. Van den Wyngaert has printed, I believe for the first time, an account of certain other supposed relics as follows:

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[20] Besides the references given above see especially "La Pagode de la Croix" by Ph. CLÉMENT (with notes by M. J. LAGRANGE and L. CHEIKHO) in *Le Bulletin Catholique de Pékin*, 1922, pp. 290–297, 420–428, 464–466; 1923, pp. 218–224; 1924, pp. 52–54, with numerous excellent photographs and facsimiles, to which I am very greatly indebted. cf. also G. SCHURHAMMER S.J., Der "Tempel des Kreuzes" in *Asia Major* vol. V. fasc. 2. April, 1928, pp. 247–255.

"On the sea-shore of the province of Fo kien on a hill near Fo nin cheu I entered an old temple which seemed to be very ancient, and of three statues which were set together above the chief altar one of them was holding on the palm of the hand (just in the way in which the image of the Saviour is usually carved or painted) a beautiful cross set on a sort of little globe, which I removed and took away with me. And on the side altar to the right of the chief one carved in relief upon a panel was another image of a woman with a mantle on her head spread out over her arms, and below to right and left several little figures as of girls with hands clasped, with faces and eyes raised to the face of that woman, as if of the Mother of Mercy, who was spreading her cloak over them in the way in which the image of the Mother of Mercy, the Blessed Mother Virgin Mary, is usually painted. And one of the aforesaid little figures had another perfectly made little gilt cross in one hand. All which things are clear enough proof of an ancient Christianity in China.

"In the town of Chuin cheu in the province of Fo kien one Father saw a stone of two cubits on the face of which was engraved the likeness of the most holy Cross.[21]

"In the church of the Minor Brothers in the city of Zin cheu in the province of Xang tung are two images, one of the Saviour and the other of the B. V. Mary, very old but yet beautiful, painted on the same piece of linen, which Brother Bernardus ab Incarnatione told me that Brother Didacus a S. Rosa had received from a bonze who said that they had been in his temple from ancient days, though he did not know for how long, whence, or how, etc." [22]

Dr A. Mingana writes: "In a private family at Mosul, in North Mesopotamia, I saw an iron cross of a fairly large size with inscriptions in Syriac and Chinese. The Syriac words read: *Slība zkha*, 'Crux vicit' (the cross has conquered), but I was not able to read the Chinese characters which occupied an even shorter space." [23]

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[21] This very probably refers to one of the Ch'üan-chou crosses, and it is the only indication, as far as I know, of their size.

[22] *SF* p. xc. Fo nin cheu (so P. Van den Wyngaert tells me the MS. may be read) may be Fu-ning chou; Chuin cheu, Ch'üan-chou; Fo kien, Fu-chien; Zin cheu, Ch'ing-chou; Xang tung, Shan-tung.

The late G. Devéria reproduces the figure of a cross found at Khotan in 1895, but this is apparently Greek. It is decorated with the *swastika* and with what may be the Greek letters KHIX, and in the middle are what Devéria took to be three Chinese words but are more like Alpha and Omega with a cross between them, A + Ω.[24] Of quite vague relics and traces we may mention a medal or token said to have been found at Lin-ch'ing on the Grand Canal and described in a letter in 1722 by the Franciscan Castorano. It is said to have had a figure of Christ on one side and of the Virgin on the other, and to have been attached by the edge to a *cash* bearing the legends *T'ai p'ing t'ung pao* and *Chao ts'ai li shih*.[25] And there is said, on very doubtful authority, to have been a large stone cross set up in the open air in the Buddhist island of P'u-t'o, where it can scarcely have been erected by Christians.[26]

A last relic deserves mention because of the name of its finder and because of the keen and amusing controversy to which it has given rise. In *Fang shih mo p'u*, 1588—a collection of designs used for decorating cakes of ink—Professor H. A. Giles found a rude engraving of three persons enclosed in a circle, with a legend which, in the Chinese manner, is a fragment without grammatical or logical context taken from a passage dealing with the theory of numbers and meaning something like "the union of three". The allusion to this non-Christian theory is made more certain by the statement in the list of the subjects illustrated that "There are pictures of 'one including three' and of 'three producing all things'." The majority of those who have been consulted, whether Western or Chinese, regard the figures as certainly intended for Buddha, Lao tzŭ, and Confucius, and the legend as expressing the belief that the teaching of these three teachers was essentially one, a belief which was very popular when the book was printed and was commonly symbolized by the inclusion of figures of Buddha, Lao tzŭ, and Confucius (in that order of precedence) in one temple. But Professor Giles has maintained that the original of the picture dated from the T'ang dynasty and represented Christ worshipped by two Nestorian priests and that the legend expresses the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and means apparently "[One of the figures] envelopes three [Persons] to be one [God]." Thus he seems to ask us to believe first that "three" in the legend has nothing to do with the three figures depicted, and secondly that a figure of Christ (with no distinguishing marks) may represent not Christ but the blessed Trinity, and that without the symbols of the other two Persons.[27]

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[23] *The Early Spread of Christianity etc.*, 1925, pp. 47, 48.

[24] *Notes d'Épigraphie Mongole-chinoise* p. 80; PELLIOT, *T'oung-pao*, 1914, p. 644.

[25] *Lettres édifiantes*, Rec. 16, 1724, Preface by du HALDE p. xiv.

[26] *China, in a series of views, . . . drawn . . . by Thomas Allom, with historical and descriptive notices by the Rev. G. N. Wright*, 4 vols, 1843. The plate facing p. 28 of vol. 4 shows the cross to the right of the entrance to "the grand Temple of Poo-too, Chusan Islands," and the notice (p. 29) speaks of "the anomalous appearance of a large and well-carved cross, conspicuously placed on a sculptured and solid pedestal, being found amongst the external architectural decorations of a Buddhist temple." But neither ALLOM nor WRIGHT seem to have been near China, and the thing was probably not a cross at all.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

Through the kindness of the Rev. P. M. Scott and of the Editorial Secretary of the S.P.G. it is possible at the last minute to add a note on some recently found relics of medieval Christianity in North China. In August 1929 Mr Scott bought from dealers at Pao-t'ou on the north bank of the Yellow River, 100 miles beyond Kuei-hua ch'êng in Sui-yüan province, fourteen small bronze crosses. Similar crosses were quite familiar to Fr. Mostaert at his Belgian mission station nine days south of Pao-t'ou in the southern Ordos country within the bend of the Yellow River, where "the Mongols constantly dig them up, from old graves and elsewhere: they know nothing of their history, but wear them on their girdles, especially the women, and use them with a lump of mud to seal up doors." One dealer told Mr Scott that the crosses belonged to the Yüan dynasty. Mr Scott writes: "The crosses are cast with very deep-cut designs, so that one archæologist suggested to me that they may have been inlaid originally with lapis lazuli or with enamel. Of the latter I have found a few very uncertain traces. Their general design is a cross with the arms connected by a circle, four triangles, or other devices. On some there is what might be called a trinitarian design, a circle with three straight lines radiating out from its circumference. On some others a swastika occurs. . . . They may always have been used as seals, but presumably they were originally just Christian ornaments. They have on the back a strong round or V-shaped loop, single or crossed." It seems to be extremely probable that Mr Scott is right in concluding that these crosses are relics of King George's Öngüt Christians (p. 174 below), and that he has succeeded to some extent in carrying out Ricci's wish for the investigation of the Christians said to be living beyond the Great Wall (pp. 6, 9 above). The illustration shows the largest of Mr Scott's crosses full size. cf. *The Mission Field*, February, 1930, pp. 37–40.

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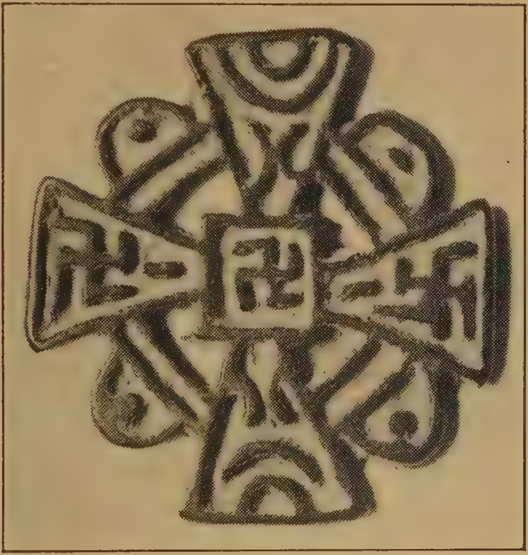
[27] H. A. Giles, *Chinese Pictorial Art*, 1918, pp. 42–44; *Adversaria Sinica*, Ser. I. pp. 27–44, 118, 215–218, 300, 301; P. Hoang, *Var. Sin.* 21. p. 161; Chavannes, *T'oung-pao*, 1904, p. 392; *Le T'ai-chan* pp. 118, 119; E. H. Parker, *T'oung-pao*, 1907, pp. 687–692; E. T. C. Werner and H. A. Giles, *JNCBRAS*, 1921, pp. 186–191; 1922, pp. 238–246; *Fang shih mo p'u* c. 3 fol. 2r°, final note fol. 1v°; *Ch'ien han shu* c. 21*a* fol. 1v°; *Tao tê ching* c. 2. fol. 8v°; *Kuo yü* (in *P'ei wên yün fu* c. 28 fol. 76v°); M. Ricci, *T'ien chu shih i*, 1596? (ed. 1904), c. 2 fol. 34; *China Journal of Sc. and Arts*, 1930, pp. 129–133.



Professor Pelliot tells me that these crosses belong to a class of seals which are known to collectors. The majority of them have the figure not of a cross but of a bird, perhaps a dove to represent the Holy Spirit. The place of finding and the date (12th to 15th century) suggest a Christian origin, but there seems to be no more definite evidence to connect them with Christianity. Professor E. H. Minns has also seen similar objects in a dealer's collection.

CHAPTER IV

MAR JABALAHA III AND RABBAN SAUMA

THE fact that the Nestorian Patriarch Mar Jabalaha III and his older companion Rabban Sauma, or Barsauma, were born well within the limits of China seems to give them a good claim to a place in the story of Christians in China. Their life which is here summarized was written by a contemporary whose name is not known, and was first published in Europe by Paul Bedjan in 1888.[1]

" There was a man, faithful, noble, and fearing God, rich in this world's goods and in natural endowments, well known in his family and tribe, whose name was Shiban,[2] and he was a Visitor. He lived in the town called Khan-baliq,[3] that is to say the royal town of the land of the East. He was married to a woman named Qiamta. As they were growing old they persevered in prayers and supplication before God that he would not leave them without one to carry on their race. . . . God sent the spirit of conception on the woman and she bore a son whom they named Sauma.[4] They rejoiced greatly, and the birth of this child was the joy of his family and relations.

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[1] *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha, patriarche, et de Rabban Çauma* [Syriac text], Paris, 1888; 2nd edition, Leipzig, 1895. The present extracts follow the French version by Dr J.-B. CHABOT, *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III et du moine Rabban Çauma* (extrait de la *Revue de l'Orient Latin* t.I.et II.), Paris, 1895. The Persian original of part is only known through an abridged Syriac version. Since this chapter was written two English versions have appeared, namely J. A. MONTGOMERY, *History of Yaballaha III*, New York, 1927, and Sir Wallis BUDGE, *The Monks of Kûblâi Khân*, London, 1928. The former only translates the first half of the book, and neither adds very greatly to our knowledge of the subject in critical ways.

[2] ܫܝܒܢ Hsi-pan is one of the Uigur names recorded in the *Yüan shih*, c. 134 fol. 2r°. The title of the book describes both Mark (Jabalaha) and Rabban Sauma as Eastern Turks. Another *Life of Jabalaha* says he was a Turk from Cathay, and BAR HEBRAEUS (*Chron. Eccles.* tom. III. col. 441) says that they were both Uigurs. Various indications make it probable however that Mark at least was an Öngüt. Cf. PELLIOT, *T'oung-pao*, 1914, pp. 630–636.

[3] Cambaluc, Tai-tu, or Peking.

" When by careful bringing up he had reached the age to go to school, they entrusted him to a worthy master and made him apply himself with care to religious learning. They found a wife for him, and were glad because of him. He was thought fit to receive the order of priesthood and was enlisted in the Christian army, and became sacristan of the church of the aforesaid city. He behaved himself with all uprightness and humility and laboured to acquire virtue and battled for the works of the future life. When he had reached his twentieth year the divine fire was lighted in his heart and burnt out the roots of sin there. He cleansed his white soul from all defilement and meanness, he cherished in fact the love of his Master, and he would not look back after having put his hand to the plough. He rejected entirely the shadow of the world and completely renounced his desires. Dainty dishes were for him as if they did not exist and he absolutely forbade himself the use of intoxicating drink.

" When his parents became aware of this, they were seized with keen sorrow and were profoundly grieved to see their only son separated from them. They rose up with broken hearts and besought him with promises of earthly blessing : Why, O our beloved son, is separation from us so dear to you? Why is our mourning so sweet to you? Think for whom our goods will be left; who will be our heir; imagine who will become master of our fortune! How can you be glad that our race and name should vanish? Why do you wish to act so that strangers shall become our heirs?

" Since they tried to convince him by such lamentations and to fill him with regret by words of this sort, he obeyed them externally and lived with them actually, but against his will. And during the three years that he served his natural parents he did not abandon at all his rule of conduct nor cease to fight in his laborious path. When his parents saw that their advice was useless and that their word counted for nothing compared with the love of Christ, they allowed him to do as he wished. So he distributed all his property, that is to say his clothes and his furniture, to the poor, took the monastic dress and received the tonsure at the hands of the holy and famous father Mar Giwargis (George) the Metropolitan.[5] He then set himself to work in his Master's vineyard, hoping for the future kingdom and sure of being made partaker of the heavenly heritage, and of being rewarded with the penny at the day's end. He chose himself a cell in which he shut himself up for seven years; and after that he thought to remove himself from men and to give himself up to an ascetic life on some mountain, in a remote place where he might rest in solitude. He came out then and went a day's journey from the town to choose himself a dwelling there; and found on this mountain a place where there was a cave and, close beside it, a spring.[6] He lived there in peace and received the grace of his Master who had made him worthy of such things that his reputation spread far in the country. Men began to gather round him to hear his word and he was honoured by all.

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[4] ܨܘܡܐ BAR HEBRAEUS and AMRUS and the extant letters of Arghun and of the Pope all have Barsauma.

" In the providence of God all is known. . . . Certain signs of election are seen in the person of him who is chosen, and certain marks are conspicuous in him which show that he is worthy of the grace. He who is enlightened recognizes them while he who is not enlightened does not recognize them. Since the person of whom we have to speak was chosen for things sublime, we are obliged to say how he was chosen and confirmed in a perfect will.

" There was in the town of Koshang[7] in the land of the East a man faithful, just, pure, and blameless, who worked with perseverance for God in the church and kept his laws religiously. He was named Bainiel and was an archdeacon. He had four sons of whom the youngest (born in the year of our Lord 1245) was called Mark. He applied himself more than his brothers to the study of religious learning. [Here something is missing. There must have been an account of Mark's desire to become a monk and to go and live with Rabban Sauma, and of the efforts which were made to dissuade him, and lastly of his leaving home.] Those who met him gave him these warnings and others like them. But he seemed to them so indifferent that they did not know whether they were speaking to a statue or to a living being. Though he was hindered in many ways he did not leave his road, and his thoughts remained fixed on his goal. He followed his plan and arrived in the presence of Rabban Sauma after fifteen days of great fatigue.

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[5] See the list of Metropolitan sees on p. 21 above.

[6] cf. p. 88 above.

[7] ܩܘܫܢܓ or ܟܘܫܢܓ The place has been identified with Tung-shêng in Shan-hsi by Pelliot, *l.c.*, who compares Odoric's form Tozan, and points out that *To* and *Qo* might be easily confused in the Persian original which may possibly have existed.

"He saluted Rabban Sauma who received him with joy and gladness. When he was rested Sauma said to him: My son, where do you come from? How have you reached this mountain? What town does your family live in? Who is your father? and of whom are you the son? He answered: I am the son of Bainiel, the archdeacon of the town of Koshang, and I am called Mark. Sauma said to him: For what reason are you come to me with so much weariness and difficulty? Mark replied: I want to become a monk. Having heard tell of you, I have left all to look for you. Do not deny me the object of my desire. Rabban Sauma said to him: O my brother, this way is hard. Old men can scarcely bear the rigour of it; much less should youths and children be able to walk along it.

"After trying in many ways to persuade him to return to his parents, since he refused to do so, Sauma admitted him to be with him, taught him, dressed him in a woollen coat, and proved him. After three years he received the tonsure at the hands of the venerable Mar Nestorius the Metropolitan on the Sunday of *Ruha Paraklita*, and devoted himself to the many labours of asceticism and to fastings maintained until the evening. They laboured on the mountain at the work of their purification and sanctification, and received comfort from God to whom they were consecrated.

"One day they said one to another: It would be a very good thing for us to leave this land and to start for the West;

for there we could worship the tombs of the holy martyrs and patriarchs. And if Christ the Lord of all prolongs our life and helps us with his grace, we will go to Jerusalem to obtain plenary indulgence for our sins and absolution of our faults. Rabban Sauma rebuked Rabban Mark sharply and tried to frighten him by the fatigue of the journey, the difficulty of the roads, and the fear of suffering and of exile. But Rabban Mark was burning to go. His mind revealed to him in some degree that treasures were laid up for him in the West. He urged Rabban Sauma with his words and stirred him up to start. At last, having agreed that neither of them would abandon his companion even if he had to suffer trouble because of him, they rose, distributed their rags and common things to the poor, and went to the town to obtain some companions for the journey and to lay in provisions.

"When the Christians of this place heard of their plan they came to them in a body to dissuade them from their project. They said to them: Do you not know how far away is the country to which you are going? Are you ignorant of the difficulty of the road? You forget that you will never arrive over there. Stay here. Fight your battle in the state of life to which you are called. It is said, you know, The kingdom of Heaven is within you. They answered them: It is long ago that we put on monks dress, that we renounced the world, that we have regarded ourselves as dead to it; and fatigue has no terrors for us, fear does not disturb us. We ask but one thing of you: for the love of Christ pray for us; put aside all sceptical talk and ask God that our plan may be fulfilled. The Christians said to them: Go in peace. They embraced one another with tears and sobs. Go in peace, they said to them. May our Lord whom you have sought go with you; may he do with you what pleases him and is good for you. Amen.

"They went to the town of Koshang. When the people of the town and the relations of Rabban Mark learnt of the arrival of these two monks, they went to meet them and led them to the church with joy and great honour. They asked them: How is it that you come here? They thought that they were going to stay with them, and that Rabban Mark was come to rejoin his family. But when they learnt that they were going to Jerusalem and that their plan and their steps were directed towards the West, they were much grieved and deeply afflicted.

"The fame of their arrival reached the governors of the city, Künbuga and Aïbuga, sons-in-law of the king of kings the Khan.[8] They sent messengers at once to bring the two monks to the camp, and they received them with joy and warm affection. When they learnt they were going away they began to say to them: Why are you leaving our country and going to the West? We give ourselves great trouble to bring monks and fathers here from the West, and how can we let you go? Rabban Sauma answered them: We have renounced the world. As long as we are near our own we shall have no rest. We are bound therefore to flee for the love of Christ who gave himself up to death for our salvation. We have given up all that is of the world. Though your love moves us, we shall go. Your goodness charms us, your kindness is spread wide over us; but if we are glad to stay with you we are also reminded of the word of the Lord who said, What does it profit a man to possess the whole universe if he lose his soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? We wish for perfection. All that we can do in our weakness is to remember your kingdom day and night in our prayers.

"The princes, seeing that their words were useless and that they could not change their purpose, offered them presents, horses, gold, silver, and clothing. The monks said to them: We have no need of anything. What shall we do with these things? How shall we carry such a load? The aforesaid princes answered them : You have no idea of the length of the road, nor of the expense which it demands. As for us we know it and we advise you not to go empty handed, for you will not be able to reach the end which you set before you. So take these presents as a loan. If you are obliged to do so, make use of them. If you have no need of them and arrive safe and sound, distribute them to the convents and to the monasteries, to the monks and to the fathers over there, so that we may have communion with the fathers of the West. It is said indeed, Let your abundance help their poverty.

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[8] The text is, I think, as I have translated it. CHABOT and BUDGE add, not quite correctly, Kubilai before Khan. Künbuga was son-in-law of Güyük and Aïbuga of Kubilai. Both were sons of Po-yao-ho, and Aïbuga was father of the king George who is mentioned by Marco Polo, John of Monte Corvino, and (as Prester John) by Odoric, who all confuse these Öngüt princes with the family of Prester John, while Polo and Odoric say quite correctly that they always married imperial princesses. cf. pp. 234–240 below; *Yüan shih* c. 118 fol. 4, 5; PELLIOT, *T'oung-pao*, 1914, pp. 631–635; *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 548, 549.

"The monks, seeing that they offered these things with a sincere heart, accepted what the princes gave them. They parted one from another with heavy hearts. Tears were mixed with joy when they said farewell to them.

"Thence they reached the city of Tangut.[9] The inhabitants learnt that Rabban Sauma and Rabban Mark were come on their way to Jerusalem. Men and women, young people, children, and little infants went out at once to meet them, for the faith of the people of Tangut was very fervent and their thoughts pure. They loaded the monks with presents and received their blessing, and all followed them weeping and saying : May our Lord, who has called you to the honour of serving him, go with you. Amen.

"Thence they went to Loton,[10] a place two months journey distant, tired and weary; for it is a dry and uninhabited desert, because the waters are bitter. No crops are sown there, and travellers hardly find water after an eight days march. There had been war between the kings of kings the Khan and king Oco, who had fled and come to this land where he had put thousands to death. The roads were cut, food failed and could no more be found, and many people died of starvation.

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[9] Probably Chung-hsing, or Ning-hsia, on the Yellow River. cf. p. 133 below.

[10] Loton seems certainly to be meant for Khotan. cf. BRETSCHNEIDER, *JNCBRAS*, 1876, p. 225; PELLIOT, *T'oung-pao*, 1914, p. 632. It is impossible to accept CHABOT's suggestion (followed by BUDGE) that king Oco was a Burmese general, who would indeed have run a long way if he had reached Khotan; but PELLIOT has given up his first identification with Aluqu.

"After six months the monks went out from thence and came to Kashgar.[11] They found the town devoid of inhabitants, for it had lately been sacked by the enemy. Because their purpose was upright and they worked with all their heart to please God, he removed far from them all calamity. They met with no accident. He saved them from robbers and brigands. They came to the neighbourhood of king Kaidu[12] at Talas, and went to find him. They wished him long life, called down the blessing of heaven on his kingdom, and asked him for letters patent so that no one in his land might be able to hurt them.

"They arrived with difficulty, weariness, and fear in Khorasan. As they had lost on the road the greater part of what they had with them, they went to the monastery of the blessed Mar Sehyon near the town of Tus.[13] They received the benediction of the Bishop and of the monks of this town. They felt as if they were born again, and gave thanks to God in whom they had put their trust. They hoped in him and were delivered; for he comes to the help and aid of all who pray to him. After having enjoyed the company of these brothers, they set out for Adherbaijan[14] that they might go thence to Baghdad to the presence of the Catholicos Mar Denha.[15] Now it happened that the Patriarch had come to Maragha where they met him. At the sight of him their joy was great, their delight increased, their spirits were at rest, and they laid aside all their anxieties. They fell on the earth and worshipped him with tears as if they had seen our Lord Jesus Christ in the person of the Catholicos Mar Denha of blessed memory.

"They said to him: The mercies of God are multiplied and his grace is poured out upon us, since we see the bright and spiritual face of our Father General. He asked them: Whence are you? They replied: From the land of the East, from Khan-baliq, the city of the king of kings the Khan. We come to receive your blessing and that of the fathers, monks, and saints of this land; and if we can do so, if God permits us to do so, we shall go to Jerusalem."

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[11] cf. BRETSCHNEIDER, *JNCBRAS*, 1876, p. 227.

[12] Kaidu was a grandson of Ogotai and consequently cousin of Kubilai, with whom he was constantly at war. cf. *Yüan shih* c. 107 fol. 6r°; YULE-CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, II. p. 457–459.

[13] Tus was the capital of Khorasan, a province of Persia. There is said to have been a Bishop of Merv and Tus as early as A.D. 334, and the Bishop of Merv was made a Metropolitan A.D. 420. cf. ASSEMANI, *B.O.*, III. pt. ii. p. 477.

[14] Adherbaijan, in which a large part of the rest of Mark's life was to be spent, is a province south-west of the Caspian Sea.

[15] Patriarch from November, 1266, till 24 February, 1281.

After spending some days at Maragha, the two monks got leave to go to Baghdad to worship the relics of St. Mares and thence to Beth Garmai and Nisibis, and went accordingly, visiting Beth Garmai, Arbela, Mosul, Singar, Nisibis, Mardin, and Gozarte, and finally returned and settled down in a cell in the monastery of St. Michael at Tar'el near Arbela. When the Patriarch heard this he sent for them and expressed the wish that they should remain in his personal service. He sent them with letters to Abaga, accompanied by a man who should bring back the king's reply while they went on to Jerusalem. Abaga gave them letters to Jerusalem, and they went to Ani in Armenia, and thence to Georgia, evidently intending to go to Jerusalem by sea. There however they found the road impassable owing to the unsettled state of the country, and were obliged to return to the Patriarch who said to them: "This is not the time to go to Jerusalem. The way is in disorder and the roads are cut. You have worshipped all the holy places and relics in our country; and for my part I think that if one visits these with a pure heart their worship counts for no less than a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Now I give you a piece of advice, and you will do well to listen to it. I have thought of making Rabban Mark a Metropolitan and conferring on him the Apostolic gifts. As for you, Rabban Sauma, I shall appoint you Visitor General, and shall send you both back to your own country."

The two replied with all due respect that they did not mean to go back to China but only wished to be allowed to spend the rest of their days in their monastery. The Patriarch however prevailed and, having chosen the name of Jabalaha for Mark by lot, consecrated him Metropolitan

" at the age of thirty-five, for the cities of Cathay and of Öng,[16] in the year of our Lord 1280. Rabban Sauma received his blessing and was named Visitor General." They both received the necessary letters for their journey and were prepared to start when they learned that the road through Asia was quite impassable owing to the wars which were going on, and so they returned to their cell in the monastery of St. Michael. There Mar Jabalaha had two dreams which his friend interpreted to mean that he would become Patriarch. The next year he went to Baghdad to receive his cope and pastoral staff ready to take with him to China or, as Amrus says, urged to go there by the prophecy of a monk named Sulâqâ who told him that he would find the Patriarch dead and would be elected to fill his place. As he drew near the city he met a man who said : " The Catholicos is dead. If you urge on your beast you may be in time for the funeral." The day after the funeral the fathers met to elect the new Patriarch. " Among them were first Maran 'ammeh Metropolitan of Elam, next the Metropolitans of Tangut, of Tirhan, and of Tur, with the magnates and notables, scholars, lawyers, and physicians of Baghdad. One said it shall be such an one; another, such another; until at last they all agreed that Mar Jabalaha should be the chief and administrator of the see of Seleucia and Ctesiphon. The reason of his election was that the kings who held the reins of power were Mongols, and there was no one beside him who knew their manners, customs, and language. When they told him this he rejected their proposal, saying : I have no knowledge or ecclesiastical learning; I have no eloquence. How can I become Patriarch? Neither do I know your Syriac language which is absolutely necessary."[17] But when they insisted he submitted to their will, and soon afterwards returned to Rabban Sauma at Tar'el. They went thence with several other Bishops and monks to have the election confirmed by Abaga, who was then in Adherbaijan. All this occupied some time, and though Denha had died in February, 1281, it was not until 2 November that Mar Jabalaha was consecrated in the church of Mar Kôka near Baghdad.[18]

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[16] Öng (BUDGE's transcription here seems preferable to CHABOT's *Ouang*) is the singular of Öngüt (in Chinese Wang-ku), Mark's native tribe in the north of Shan-hsi. cf. PELLIOT, *T'oung-pao*, 1914, p. 632. AMRUS (see p. 126 below) says that he was made Metropolitan of Tangut, in itself perhaps more probable than the vague Cathay (see p. 21 above), except that a Metropolitan of Tangut was alive at the time. HOWORTH, *History of the Mongols*, vol. III. p. 283, says that Sauma was consecrated Bishop of the Uigurs by Jabalaha, but there seems to be no ground for the statement except that he is called Bishop by the Pope and by Buscarel of Genoa (pp. 115, 118 below).

Abaga died on 1 April, 1282, and was succeeded by his

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[17] This detail is confirmed by William of Rubruck in his very unpleasant account of the Nestorians of Cathay which is worth quoting. "In fifteen cities of Cathay there are Nestorians, and they have an episcopal see in a city called Segin (? Hsi-ching, or Ta-t'ung), but for the rest they are pure idolaters. . . . The Nestorians there know nothing. For they say their service and have sacred books in Syriac (a language of which they are ignorant) from which they sing just like uneducated monks amongst ourselves; and in this way they have become wholly corrupt. First they are usurers and drunkards. Some of them also who live with the Tartars have several wives like the Tartars. When they go into Church they wash their lower limbs like the Saracens. They eat flesh on Friday, and have their feasts on that day in the manner of the Saracens. A Bishop comes but rarely in that land—scarcely once perhaps in fifty years. Then they cause all their boys, even in the cradle, to be ordained priests, so that almost all their men are priests, and after that they marry, which thing is plainly contrary to the decrees of the Fathers; and they commit bigamy, for even the priests marry a second wife when the first is dead. They are also given to simony, administering no sacrament without a fee. They are concerned for their wives and children, and so they strive not for the spread of the faith but for gain. And so it comes to pass that when any of them bring up some of the sons of the Moal nobles, although they teach them the Gospel and the faith, yet by their evil life and covetousness they still more estrange them from the Christian religion; for the lives of the Moals themselves and even of the *Tuins*, that is to say the idolaters, are more innocent than their lives." "One day a priest from Cathay was seated with me, and he was dressed in red stuff of the finest hue." cf. W. W. ROCKHILL, *Journey of W. of Rubruck* pp. 157–159.

[18] His title was Jabalaha (Yahbhallâhâ) III. The first two Patriarchs of the name had reigned A.D. 416–420 and 1190–1221 respectively. With regard to the date of the consecration AMRUS agrees with the Syriac, saying "Consecratus fuit patriarcha [Madainae] dominica [prima dedicationis ecclesiae] pallio indutus evanidi coloris, anno Graecorum 1593, supp. pasch. 9.27.3." In November, 1281, Sunday fell on the 2, 9, 16, 23, and 30, of which the first four would presumably have been the Sundays of the Consecration of the Church. On the first of these Sundays "the people move from the summer chapel to the nave of the church for their daily prayers." cf. A. J. MACLEAN, *East Syrian Daily Offices*, p. 280.

Moslem brother Ahmad. The Patriarch was accused by his rival the Metropolitan of Tangut and others of supporting the claims of Abaga's son Arghun and of having denounced Ahmad in a letter to Kubilai. The courier was overtaken and the letter was brought back and opened and was found to contain nothing treasonable, but the Patriarch nevertheless spent forty days in prison. Finally he was released and was restored to favour and went to live in Maragha.

Ahmad was defeated by Arghun and put to death on 10 (or 16) August, 1284, and the accession of the latter was hailed with delight by the Christians, and the Patriarch remained in favour throughout his reign. When Arghun wished to invade Palestine and Syria he thought it necessary first to secure the alliance and support of the European powers, and Mar Jabalaha was asked to find him a suitable man to act as ambassador for this purpose. Though there must have been many Europeans in Persia at the time, among them very likely John of Monte Corvino, it was Rabban Sauma who was chosen for this duty. Arghun wrote a special letter for the kings of the Greeks and the Franks, and gave Sauma *yarlik* and letters and presents for each of the kings, and for his own use 2000 gold *mithqal*, thirty excellent horses, and a *païza*.[19] The Patriarch also sent letters and presents to the Pope.

The mission appears to have started in March 1287, but it is just possible, Dr Chabot thinks,[20] that an earlier mission had been sent in 1285, as a curious letter of that year from Arghun to the Pope is preserved in the Vatican Register.[21] It is as follows:

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[19] *Yarlik* is an order or letter patent granted by a sovereign. The value of the *mithqal* seems to have varied greatly. *Païza* is the Chinese *p'ai-tzŭ*, a metal ticket acting as a kind of passport.

[20] *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III*, pp. 185–193.

[21] *Regist. Vat.* 44, No. 22, fol. 128. cf. *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III*. p. 188 n.3. The Latin text is given by CHABOT on p. 190. The translation is largely conjectural. The Oriental names and words are given in the spelling of the original, and will be easily recognized except perhaps Coris for Tauris or Tabriz. The form of the letter can be exactly paralleled from the many Mongol letters and edicts published by Ed. CHAVANNES, " Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole " in *T'oung-pao*, 1904, 1905, 1908., many of which grant privileges or exemptions to Christians (*yeh-li-k'o-wên*). cf. p. 219 below.

"In the name of Christ. Amen. By the grace of the great Cam, the word of Argonum. To the holy Lord and Father the Pope.

"By Gingis-cam first father of all the Tartars a decree was granted to the most serene lord the king of the Franks, the most serene lord king Charles, and to all the Christians, that no tribute be paid and that they be free in his lands.

"The great Cam made a present to Ise the interpreter of robes and incense, which he sent to the *ordo* of [me] Cam Argum; and the said Ase the interpreter later, as soon as his service in these parts is accomplished, and the said Bogagoc and Mengilic and Thomas Banchrinus and Vgeto the interpreter we have sent on this embassy if it might be to your Highness (*ad principium*).

"Our late mother was a Christian; the great Cam, our good father Alaum, and good Abaga his son, how they protected all the Christians in their land and dominion you, holy lord and father, are able to understand. And now Cobla Cam, as being over-lord, has made a present, and has in heart the wish or thought to send robes or vestments and incense to the holy lord and father the Pope; and it is the decree of the Cam to us Argoni, since the land of Christians was near, that we shall do them kindness and have them in our protection; and we have in mind to protect them and do kindness. In the years past Ameto, in the ways of the Saracens and who did not protect the land of the Christians, was usurping [the throne], and so our embassy has been delayed. And now let it be, because the land of the Saracens is not ours, between us, good father, us who are on this side and you who are on your side; the land of Scami to wit the land of Egipti between us and you we will crush. We send you the said messengers and [ask] you to send an expedition and army to the land of Egipti, and it shall be now that we from this side and you from your side shall crush it between us with good men; and that you send us by a good man where you wish the aforesaid done. The Saracens from the midst of us we shall lift, and the lord Pope and the Cam will be lords. Our letter.

"In the year of the cock (1285), on the 18 day of the moon of May (*Madii*), at Coris."[22]

Of the mission of 1287 we have full details. Rabban Sauma and his party went from a Black Sea port to Constantinople where they spent some time in seeing the sights and relics, of which his account is of great antiquarian interest. Thence a two months voyage took them to Naples where they had the pleasure of watching a naval battle, perhaps that which is said to have been fought in the Bay of Naples on 23 June, 1287. From Naples the party went by road to Rome, although they had heard of the death of Honorius IV which had taken place on 3 April, and were received by the Cardinals, by one of whom Rabban Sauma was subjected to a searching catechism. Among his answers may be noticed: "Mar Thomas, Mar Adai, and Mar Mares evangelized our country and the rites which they taught us we still observe." The Cardinals expressed surprise that a Christian in his position should have come as ambassador of the king of the Mongols, and he replied: "You must know that many of our fathers have gone to the lands of the Mongols, the Turks, and the Chinese, and have taught them. Today many of the Mongols are Christians; there are princes and queens who have been baptized and confess Christ. They have churches with them in the camp, and show great honour to the Christians, and there are many converts among them," and " No one has been sent to us Orientals from the Pope. The holy Apostles aforesaid taught us and we still hold today what they handed down to us." Then followed a demand for his creed and a more strictly theological discussion which he ended by saying : " I am come from distant lands not to discuss or to teach my belief, but to pay my respects to my lord the Pope and to the relics of the Saints, and to deliver the messages of the king and of the Catholicos. If you please let us have done with discussions. If you will order someone to show me the Churches and the tombs of the Saints which are here you will do your servant and disciple a great kindness."

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[22] Of the envoys Ugeto terciman (*targuman* or *dragoman*) is certainly Uguetus interpres of the Pope's letter given below and Thomas Banchrinus may be Thomas de Anfusis of the same letter. Ise terchiman or Ase terciman was a Syrian Christian who devoted his long life to the service of the Mongol Kaans. His biography in the *Yüan shih* c. 134 fol. 3v°, where he is called Ai-hsieh and described as "versed in all the tongues of the west", says he was sent on an embassy to Arghun, and it is known from another Chinese source that he was accompanied by the ch'êng-hsiang Po-lo (Bolod čingsang), who in turn is known to have reached Persia in 1285. Rashid u'd Din spells the name 'Isā and it is no doubt a transcription of Jesus. Ai-hsieh seems to have been introduced to Güyük by Rabban-ata. cf. Pelliot, *T'oung-pao*, 1914, pp. 638–640; *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 1924, pp. 225–335; Ch'ên Yüan, *Yüan yeh li k'o wên k'ao*, fol. 6, 7. To Mr. Ch'ên belongs the credit of first finding Rabban-ata in a Chinese book. The date of the letter causes considerable trouble from several points of view, as there is no other evidence of an embassy earlier than Bar Sauma's in 1287, and what is known of Ise's movements does not seem to allow time for him to have gone to Rome in or after 1285. The month *Madii* may be the Moslem *quimadi* or even *ramadan* rather than May. cf. pp. 228–233, below.

From Rome they went to Tuscany and Genoa, and thence " to the land of Pariz, to the king of Phransis." The king, Philip the Fair, received Sauma with the greatest respect and after promising to join Arghun's crusade " with a great force " sent the party as usual to see the sights. " They stayed a month and some days in this great city of Paris and saw all that it contained. There are 30000 scholars there who study ecclesiastical and profane learning, that is to say the interpretation and explanation of all the holy Scriptures and science, that is to say philosophy, rhetoric, medicine, geometry, arithmetic, and the knowledge of the planets and stars. They are constantly occupied with writing and are all supported by the king. They saw also in the great church which is there the tombs of the deceased kings and their images in gold and silver laid upon their tombs. For the service of the souls of these kings there are 500 monks who eat and drink at the royal expense and continue fasting and praying at the tombs of these kings. The crowns of these princes and their arms and robes are placed upon their tombs." Then the king himself showed them certain special relics, the Crown of Thorns and a piece of the Cross, which he said his ancestors had brought back from the sack of Jerusalem ; and dismissed them with the promise : " I will send with you one of the principal *amirs* of my palace to take my reply to king Arghun." This *amir* was the knight

Gobert of Helleville as appears from the following extracts from the accounts of the Templars under the date 2 February, 1288 (la Chandeleur 1287) :—

"Gobertus de Hellevilla, miles, magistri Robertus de Silvanectis et Guillelmus de Brueriis et Odardus de Bituris, pro expensis ad dominum Tartarorum, 1200 l.

"Gobertus de Hellevilla, miles, magistri Robertus de Silvanectis et Guillelmus de Brueriis, clerici, et Odardus de Bituris, balistarius, pro expensis in via ad regem tarorum, 1200 l.t.

"Dominus Gobertus de Hellevile, miles, de dono, 100 l.

"Odinus de Bituris, balistarius, de dono, 40 l."

These envoys, Gobert with the clergy Robert of Senlis and William of Bruyères and the crossbow-man Odard or Odin, probably joined the Mongols at Rome or at some other point on the way and travelled with them to Persia.[23]

Rabban Sauma and his companions "set out from thence, that is from Paris, to go to the king of Alanguitar (l'Angleterre) in Kasonia (Gascony).[24] In twenty days they came to their town. The inhabitants came out to meet them and asked them; Who are you? They answered them: We are ambassadors who come hither from the eastern seas sent by the king, the Patriarch, and the princes of the Mongols. These men hastened to go and announce the matter to the king who received them (the envoys) with joy and made them come into his presence. The servants of Rabban Sauma brought the king the letter and the presents which king

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[23] *Mémoires de l'Acad: des Inscr: et Belles-Lettres*, t. XXXIII, 2e partie, pp. 139, 145, 148, 150 (in CHABOT, *Supplément à l'Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III* pp. 2, 3.).

[24] ܟܣܘܢܝܐ : ܐܠܢܓܝܛܪ The town was Bordeaux. The place and time are fixed with great probability by the following extract from the continuation of Florence of Worcester's Chronicle quoted by CHABOT, *id.* p. 4. I owe the corrected text and the reference to the original MS. to my late uncle C. W. MOULE and to Mr A. ROGERS. "MCC.LXXXVII Domino Regi anglie in partibus Wasconie commoranti a rege tartarorum sollempnes directi sunt nuntii ad antiquas amicitias inter ipsum dominum Regem et predecessores suos Reges tartarorum renouandas et firmius coroborandas. Idem dominus Rex celebrauit Nat' domini apud Burgedalim in Gasconia." Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Parker MS. 92, early 14th century, fol. 195r°. King Edward I. was in Gascony from early 1287 till 1290.

Arghun had sent him as well as the letter of my lord the Catholicos. The king was very much pleased, but his joy increased greatly when Jerusalem was mentioned. We, said he, kings of these towns have taken the sign of the Cross as a badge to wear, and we have no other thought but about this business. My heart swells with emotion when I learn that the thoughts of king Arghun agree with my thoughts. The king ordered Rabban Sauma to celebrate mass. So he celebrated the glorious mysteries. The king and the court were present and the king received the Communion. And on the same day he gave a great feast.

" After that Rabban Sauma said to the king: We pray you, O King, to order someone to show us all the relics and churches that there are in this country, so that we may be able to describe them when we return to the East. The king replied: You shall say this to king Arghun and to all the people of the East, There is nothing more wonderful than this which we saw, namely that in the lands of the Franks there are not two confessions but one single profession of faith in our Lord, which all Christians confess. He gave them many presents and wherewithal to meet the expenses of the journey."

From Gascony the envoys returned to spend the winter in Genoa. We may suppose that they had reached Genoa the first time in the first half of August, Paris not later than 10 September, Bordeaux in the early days of November, and were back again in Genoa about the middle of December.[25]

In the spring of 1288 John of Tusculum, who had been sent to Germany by the late Pope, passed through Genoa on his way back to Rome. He called on Rabban Sauma who complained that they had been kept waiting a whole year for the election of a Pope, and that the princes of Europe took no interest in the Crusades. John promised to explain all this at Rome and to hasten the papal election. On 20 February Jerome, the Cardinal who had questioned Sauma so keenly the year before, was elected Pope with the name of Nicholas IV, and promptly sent for the envoys to come to Rome. They started without a moment's delay and reached the city in fifteen days, where they were most honourably and cordially welcomed by the Pope and delivered to him the presents and letters which Arghun and the Patriarch had sent. It was now mid Lent and the Pope insisted on their staying over Easter and assigned them a lodging and attendants. "After some days Rabban Sauma said to my lord the Pope : I should like to say mass so that you may see our custom. The Pope gave him leave to celebrate as he had asked, and on that day there was a large congregation to see how the envoy of the Mongols celebrated. They saw with satisfaction and said : The language is different, but the rite is the same. The day in which he consecrated and celebrated the divine mysteries was the Sunday *aynau asia*. He went afterwards to salute my lord the Pope who said to him: May God receive your sacrifice and bless you, may he pardon your faults and your sins. Rabban Sauma replied : With the absolution of my faults and sins which I have received of you, O Father, I ask further of your Paternity, O holy Father, that I may receive the Communion from your hands that my pardon may be complete. The Pope replied : So be it."

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[25] Chabot, *Histoire* etc. p. 83 n.2.

The next Sunday was Palm Sunday and innumerable crowds gathered in the early morning bringing olive branches to be blessed. After this ceremony the Pope was conducted to the Church where he changed his vestments and went first "to the altar, next to the ambo, from which he spoke to the people teaching and exhorting them. Then he celebrated the holy mysteries and gave the Communion first to Rabban Sauma after he had confessed his sins. He granted him indulgence of his sins and faults as well as to his fathers. Rabban Sauma rejoiced greatly that he had received the Communion from the hands of my lord the Pope; he received it with tears and sobs, giving thanks to God and remembering the mercy which he had spread over him. On the day of the holy Passover (Maundy Thursday) my lord the Pope went to the church of Mar John Baptist. When the people were assembled in great numbers he went up into a large hall which was there with a large open space before it. The Cardinals, Metropolitans, and Bishops went with him, and they began the service. After the service my lord the Pope preached and exhorted the people in the usual manner. Because of the great crowd not a word could be heard, unless it were *Amen*; and when they said *Amen* they made the earth tremble at the sound."

Then follows a long account of the ceremonies of Good Friday and Easter, ending with Rabban Sauma's bold request for some relic to take home with him. In consideration of the distance he had come the Pope " gave him a little piece of the robe of our Lord Christ, a piece of the kerchief, that is to say the veil of Lady Mary, and some small pieces of the relics of the Saints which were there. He sent to Mar Jabalaha the Catholicos his own tiara of pure gold adorned with precious stones, purple vestments, woven with gold, socks and slippers decorated with little pearls, and also the ring from his finger with a letter patent in which he recognized his Patriarchal authority over all the people of the East."

The embassy returned by the route by which they had come and reached Persia without mishap. Arghun thanked Rabban Sauma and said: " We have caused you much fatigue, for you are an old man. Henceforth we will not let you leave us, but will have a church built at the gate of the palace in which you may say your services and prayers." The author ends this chapter by saying that he has omitted a great deal of the account of the mission which Rabban Sauma himself had written in Persian.[26]

The letters which Rabban Sauma took to Europe in 1287 are not known to be extant, but copies of several of the Pope's replies have been preserved and versions of some of these are here given.

" Nicholas etc. to the Venerable Brother Yaulaha Bishop in the lands of the East, health and Apostolic blessing.

" With feelings of overflowing kindness have we received the letter which our venerable Brother Bersauma, Bishop in the lands of the East, the noble Sabadinus, Thomas de Anfusis, and Uguetus the interpreter, lay envoys of the famous king of the Tartars, have been careful to present to us on your behalf. And we have fully understood the contents, and we set forth with full praise in the Lord the zeal of your kind foresight, that, as we learn from the letter itself, you follow with the wealth of your kindness and treat with gracious support our beloved sons the Brothers of the Order of Minors who are sojourning in those parts to sow the seed of salvation and to instruct the inhabitants in the Catholic faith. For which we give you the more thanks in proportion as we know more of the kindness from which it has proceeded. And we pray and exhort you, Brother, in the sight of God whose work they are doing, that out of reverence for the Apostolic See and for us you will be very favourably disposed towards the Brothers whom we commend to you and treat them with good will, so that supported by the help of your favour they may be able the more usefully and effectually to carry on the work of salvation in which they are engaged; and that you may receive a worthy recompense from him who gives all good rewards. But since the clergy and people under your rule are removed by a long distance of sea and land from the Roman Church, which, like a fond mother, diligently seeks the salvation of all and wishes all to be made possessors of eternal blessedness, and cannot conveniently go to her nor easily have recourse to her to receive teaching and instruction in the faith, we desiring the said clergy and people to hold the pure faith which the Roman Church holds and preserves have thought it good to send you the said faith and the statement of it which are written below, very anxiously exhorting you with diligent zeal and with the eyes of your mind lifted up to the Lord wisely to teach and instruct the same clergy and people in the said faith and get it to be generally embraced and carefully observed, so that like a good servant you may be able to lead the said clergy and people to places of the pasture of salvation. The aforesaid faith and the statement of it are these: . . . .

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[26] From this passage CHABOT seems to have inferred, perhaps rightly, that the story of the embassy is abridged from Sauma's own Persian account of it, while the life of Mar Jabalaha is complete in its original form. *Hist. de Mar Jab. III.* p. 3.

"Dated at Rome in St. Peter's, vii Ides of April, in the first year (7 April, 1288)." [27]

[27] *Reg. Vat.* 44. c. 13, fol. 88v°; *Hist. de Mar Jab. III.* pp. 195–199.

It will be seen that this letter did not contain, as Rabban Sauma thought it did, any grant or clear recognition of the Patriarch's supremacy in the East, and the statement of faith ends with an unbending claim of universal supremacy for Rome.

The first long letter to Arghun contains little to our purpose. The second, a sort of postscript, is more interesting :

" Nicholas etc. to Argon, king of the Tartars etc.

" We understand from our venerable Brother Bersauma, Bishop in the lands of the East, from the noble Sabadinus, Thomas de Anfusis, and Uguetus the interpreter, laymen, your Majesty's envoys, that, if it come to pass that the realm of Jerusalem is delivered from the hands of the wicked, you wish to be born again by the washing of baptism in the city of Jerusalem. We indeed readily desiring the salvation of you and yours commend this your healthful and laudable design again and again in the Lord. But being induced by a great hope that the liberation of the said realm will be accomplished with the help of the Lord more easily after you have received holy baptism ; because also it is perceived that it will hasten your salvation that you try to bring the design you have conceived to effect, removing the hindrance of delay ; we have thought it right to stir up and exhort your Highness that, consulting your own salvation and laudably following our advice which comes from the depth of a pure heart, you hasten immediately to baptism and do not fail quickly to receive it to the praise of God and to the promotion of your own salvation. For you will please the Lord the more in proportion as it happens that you advance the more quickly and gladly to receive baptism and you provoke more to its reception by your laudable example. Dated as above (*i.e.* 2 April, 1288)." [28]

There were also two letters to Christian Mongol princesses and one to Dionysius, Jacobite or Greek Bishop in Tabriz, to Rabban Sauma also, to Sabadinus Archaon, and to a group of nine " laymen, interpreters of the king of the Tartars." The letter to Rabban Sauma is this :

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[28] *Reg. Vat.* 44, c. 17 fol. 90r°; *Hist. de Mar Jab. III*. p. 203.

"To Bersauma, Bishop in the regions of the East, health etc.

"We have lately had the pleasure of seeing you come in person into our Apostolic presence and we received you with affection and joy and exulting in the Lord, from whom the gifts of all graces flow, that you enlightened with the beams of the Christian faith and born again in the fountain of baptism are showing yourself, as trustworthy report has it, anxious and careful about those things by means of which you may enlarge the boundaries and stretch the limits of the same faith and render yourself, going ever from good to better, pleasing in the sight of the Most High to whose service you have to your soul's health clung. This indeed is what we have learnt with pleasure and heard with joy about you and all worshippers of the orthodox faith. This it is that brings to us exuberant delight and raises a mountain of happiness. This it is which wins for you a title to human praise, makes your name known, and swells your fame. And so, Brother, we stir you up and exhort you in the Son of God the Father to lift up the eyes of your mind to the Lord, who gives great rewards for the least services, and fervently to embrace and constantly hold fast the Christian faith and carefully to teach and instruct others in it according to the wisdom given you from above, that you may render yourself the more acceptable and pleasing to the Lord your God as you call back the more by your zealous care from the cloud of infidelity to the sunshine of Christian faith and from the wandering of error to the path of righteousness. In order however that you may be able more fully and effectually to instruct others in the Christian faith which the mother church of Rome holds and preserves, we have had the said faith and the statement of it added to the present letter as follows:—We believe etc. . . . .

Dated as above (Rome, 7 April 1288)."[29]

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[29] *Reg. Vat.* 44 c. 15 fol. 89v°; *Hist. de Mar Jab. III.* p. 207. The Pope, who knew Rabban Sauma very well, and Buscarel (p. 118 below) call him Bishop, but there seems to be no other reason to suppose that he was such. The letter to Sabadinus derives its chief interest from the address "Sabadino Archaoni," where it is natural to suppose that *archaon* is the Mongol word for Christian which

In a footnote on the large number of Europeans who were to be found in Asia in the thirteenth century Dr Chabot quotes from Abel Rémusat a statement derived from Matthew Paris (under the year 1243) that the first envoy sent by the Mongols was an Englishman who had been banished for some crime and, after wandering all over Asia, had ended by taking service under the Mongols.[30]

Returning to the story of Mar Jabalaha we read that in the year 1289 [31] Arghun ordered him to come to the camp and proceeded to honour him and the Christians in general by the erection of a fine church, or rather tabernacle, so near to his own tent that the cords of the two were interlaced, in which he desired that prayers should never cease. The consecration of this movable church is described by the Armenian historian Orbelian who himself took part in the ceremony. He says: "After our return from Cilicia we went to Arghun, lord of the world, and were presented to him. He received us with great honour and kindness. . . . He told us to stay with him to bless a church in his palace which the great Pope of Rome had sent him. The Nestorian Catholicos was there with twelve Bishops and we joined with them in blessing the church with great pomp. Arghun robed us with his own hands with the pontifical ornaments which he had arranged for the Catholicos, for us, and for

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is met so often in its Chinese form *yeh-li-k'o-wên*. cf. *Reg. Vat.* 44 c. 19 fol. 90r°, the letter is followed by the note "In e.m.pro dilectis filiis Elyae capellano in partibus Orientis." Sabadinus is mentioned again in one of the later embassies.

[30] *Hist. de Mar Jab. III.* p. 209, n. 1. In *Matthaei Paris, Monachi Albanensis, Angli, Historia Maior*, 1571, pp. 818–822 (anno 1243) are occupied with a letter about the atrocious cruelties of the Mongols from "Yvo dictus Narbonensis," who had been banished for heresy, to Giraldus Archbishop of Bordeaux; but an envoy of the Mongols could hardly have written such a letter. An embassy to the Pope, which was regarded with great suspicion, is recorded under 1248 (*id.* p. 985) and one to the king of France in 1249 (*id.* p. 1023, where the margin is *Rumores de conuersione Regis Tartarorum*). cf. also PELLIOT, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 1924, pp. 225–335. The most remarkable evidence of the presence of Europeans in Asia is to be found in William of Rubruck, Marco Polo, and other travellers of that age.

[31] The Greek year 1598 given in the text is apparently a mistake for 1600.

the Bishops. Holding the rattle he went the round of the camp and compelled everyone to receive the blessing. Another Bishop sent by the same Pope came some time afterwards and baptized the young son of the monarch, naming him Theodosius, or in their language Kharbanda, and laid him in the arms of a Frankish prince named Sir Chol." [32]

Rabban Sauma was put in charge of this church and desired by Arghun continually to say mass and to pray for him. In September, 1289, Arghun took his son who had been baptized in August to the Catholicos at Maragha that he might receive the holy Communion.

Not long after these events, on 7 March, 1291, Arghun died. But before passing to the reign of his successor we may briefly notice his later embassies to Europe. These embassies of 1289 and 1290, as well as the later one sent by Ghazan, were accompanied and in the first instance led not by a Nestorian monk but by a European layman, Buscarel of Genoa. The first left Persia some time after Easter, 1289, having been preceded by a few months by the informal mission of John of Monte Corvino, and reached Rome evidently after John had left again with letters which are dated 13 or 15 July, but before the end of September. From Rome the mission went to Paris carrying a letter from Arghun which is still preserved there, and from Paris to the king of England with a letter of introduction from the Pope which is dated 30 September, 1289. They, that is Buscarel with three gentlemen, a cook, eight horsemen, and six servants, reached London on 5 January, 1290, and stayed in England for twenty days. The mission, like that of Rabban Sauma, seems to have had no result. The letter to Paris begins: " O King of France, to me by Mar Barsauma Sahura the ambassador you have sent a message saying, When the troops of the Ilkhan march against Egypt we from here will start to join them. Since I have accepted the delivery of your message, I have said that we will start in the winter of the tiger year, in the last month (January 1291), and in the spring, on the 15th day of the first month (15 February, 1291), we will camp at Damascus, *etc.*"[33]

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[32] *Hist. de Mar Jab. III.* p. 258, quoting *Histoire de la Siounie*, trans. by Brosset, 1864, c. 71 pp. 265, 266.

With Arghun's letter is kept a note by Buscarel himself written in old French. It begins: "This is the message of Busquarel, ambassador of Argon, made in the year of the ox (1289) at Condelan. . . . Moreover I say that because Argon has heard that it is a hard matter for the King of France to transport by sea as many horses as are required for them and for their people, the said King of France will be able to receive from Argon . . . twenty or thirty thousand horses as a gift or for a reasonable price. . . . This Easter lately past the said Argon had mass sung in a chapel which he has carried with him by Rabanata, a Nestorian Bishop who came to you as ambassador the other year, and there and then made many of his Tartar barons communicate before him and receive the holy sacrament of the altar. Again, Sir, the said Argon informs you that your great ambassadors, who you sent before him, refused to do him duty and reverence as is the custom for all manner of persons to do, kings, princes, and barons, who come to his court. . . ."[34]

Undaunted by the failure of his first two or three missions Arghun sent again in 1290. This time the Pope sent two letters to king Edward, one, introducing " Andreas, formerly called Zaganus", dated 2 December, 1290, and the other dated 31 December, introducing " Saabedin Archaon ". The movements of the envoys seem to be unknown, but the Pope's replies are extant. They include two letters to Arghun (who had died in March), dated 21 and 23 August, 1291, in both of which he exhorts him to be baptized, while in the second he speaks of king Edward as being on the point of setting out for the Holy Land. On their return to Persia the envoys found Arghun dead and his younger brother Kaikhatu on the throne.[35] The Christians prospered greatly in external matters under the reign of this prodigal monarch, over whom the Catholicos seems to have had a considerable influence. Rabban Sauma was now growing old and was weary of his peripatetic life in charge of the camp church; and so with the leave of the Khan and the help of the Patriarch he built a magnificent church dedicated to St. Mares and St. George at Maragha. Instead of settling, however, at Maragha he went with the Patriarch to Baghdad in 1293, and died at Arbela on 10 January, 1294. Mar Jabalaha spent the rest of the winter at Baghdad and having seen the Khan and received large presents from him in April or May he went to Maragha where he laid the foundations of the convent of St. John Baptist about two miles north of the city. Then for a year the country was in a state of anarchy, leading to the death of Kaikhatu on 23 or 24 April and of his cousin and successor Baidu on 25 September. Baidu was succeeded by Arghun's eldest son Ghazan,[36] who was an ardent Moslem, and the prospects of the Christians became gloomy. Ghazan's minister Nauruz promptly gave orders for the destruction of the churches and the massacre of the chief among the Christians and Jews. " They seized the Catholicos by night in his house at Maragha; outside no one knew of it till the morning. In the morning of this day, Monday, they invaded the house and carried off everything old or new that was in it, leaving not even a nail in the walls. In the night of the next day, Tuesday 27 September, the Catholicos was continually ill-treated by his captors. And as for the Bishops who were with him, some of them were chained up naked, others left their clothes and fled, and others flung themselves down from the upper floors. They hung the Catholicos up head downwards and took a handkerchief full of ashes and tied it over his mouth. One of the villains beat his chest saying: Abjure your religion that you may not die; become a Hagaren and you shall be saved. The Patriarch wept but did not speak a word. They beat him with a stick on his legs and his back. After that they brought him up on to the terrace of his house and said: Give us gold and we will let you go; show us your treasures and what you have hidden, open what you have stored away, and we will save you. As he was clothed with a weak and feeble body my lord the Catholicos was afraid of death, and began to cry out on the terrace: Where are my disciples? Why have those whom I have brought up taken to flight? What is the use of my goods? Come, save your father from these cruel traitors, save your master. So all the people, men, women, youths, and children, heard these bitter complaints in the darkness of midnight, but no one had the courage to come near." Finally, after receiving an immense sum of money and all the valuables in the house, the Moslems left at mid-day on Tuesday and proceeded to loot the great church in the city. On Wednesday an order for the execution of the Patriarch arrived, but he was fortunately able to escape and went, disguised as a servant of Haitun king of Armenia who was at Maragha at the time, to Ghazan at Tabriz. He got little or no satisfaction from Ghazan and after Christmas, 1295, was again imprisoned in his own house. He managed however to escape and remained in hiding, while the Christians in general were persecuted and cruelly tortured, until Easter. Then he sent a monk to Ghazan to pray for his protection and " God brought it about that his words were acceptable in the eyes of the king. He granted the Catholicos an edict in the usual form; first that the poll tax should not be exacted from the Christians, secondly that no Christian should abandon his religion, that the Catholicos should be treated as had been customary before and according to his rank, that he resume possession of his throne and hold the sceptre of authority over his province. He had another edict published in all places, namely to all the amirs and the troops, ordering them to restore all that they had taken by violence from the Catholicos or from the Bishops, and that the people of Baghdad, as well as those whom they had sent of whom we have spoken above, should return all that they had extorted. And in addition to this he granted and had paid to the Catholicos 5000 *dinars* for his expenses, saying, They will support him till he comes to our court. . . . From that day beams of salvation began to shine upon the whole church. In the district of Arbela the churches had been laid waste; in Tabriz and Hamadan they were utterly destroyed; in the town and province of Mosul their foundations were torn out of the ground; at Baghdad they had been rescued for considerable sums amounting to thousands of *darics*. But the church which had been built in this city by the Catholicos Makikha (1257–1265) by order of the victorious king Hulagu and of the Christian queen Dokuz khatun was captured by the Moslems with the house and the palace which had belonged to the Arabian kings. When Hulagu, ancestor of the present kings, had taken and sacked Baghdad (20 February, 1258) he had given it to the Catholicos Mar Makikha, that prayers might be said in it unceasingly for him and for his race. They were not content with taking the church and the house, but obliged the Christians to take away the bones of the Patriarchs (Makikha and Denha) who had been buried there, as well as those of the Bishops, monks, and other Christians. All this was done by order of that son of perdition the accursed and execrable Nauruz, the adversary of justice, enemy of truth, and friend of falsehood." And indeed the troubles of the Christians were very far from being ended. Pillage, persecution, and actual massacre do not seem to have ceased, and although Mar Jabalaha himself remained nominally in favour at court he was obliged to seek refuge with one of the queens who was a Christian. In Arbela especially, where the Christians occupied the citadel, a state of incessant friction if not warfare seems to have existed for years, and it was by no means merely a religious persecution, but a rebellion in the course of which Nauruz was captured and put to death. But his death did not mend matters. Various attempts were made (specially in the later period of trouble) to get the Patriarch to induce the Christians to come down from the citadel, with varying success, but with invariable disaster to those who were persuaded to leave their stronghold. Among those employed in these negotiations was the historian Rashid u'd Din to whom the Patriarch said: I had a house at Baghdad with a church and lands for endowment; they have all been taken from me. The church and house at Maragha have been destroyed from roof to foundation and everything in them has been removed, as you know. It is obvious that I barely escaped the massacre at Tabriz. The church and residence at Tabriz are a mere ruin and everything in them has been carried off. The house in the city of Hamadan has vanished with the church, it is impossible even to see where they stood. There remain the house and the citadel at Arbela occupied by a hundred men. Do you wish to destroy and pillage them too? What is the use of living? Let the king order me to go back to the East from whence I came, or to go and end my days in the land of the Franks.

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[33] This interesting letter (Archives nationales, J. 937) has been translated by Abel RÉMUSAT, Is. SCHMIDT, MEADOWS, CHABOT (*Hist. de Mar Jab. III.* p. 223) and others, and reproduced by RÉMUSAT and CHABOT and, in facsimile, by Prince Roland BONAPARTE in *Documents de l'époque mongole*, 1895. The original is a paper roll about 6 feet long by 10 inches wide written on with black ink in Uigur letters with three impressions of a Chinese seal (*Fu kuo an min chih pao* "Support of the kingdom and pacifier of the people his seal"). The date of the letter seems to be 10 or 11 May, 1289.

[34] *Archives nat.*, J. 937; *Hist. de Mar Jab. III.* pp. 229–232. Rabanata cannot here be the famous Rabban-ata of 50 years earlier, but seems certainly to be Rabban Sauma. *Rabban* is the very common Syriac title, and *Ata* is the Turkish for "father". Odoric in the 14th century tells us that both titles were given him at Hang-chou in China. cf. PELLIOT, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 1924, pp. 225–335. The early reference to the unwillingness of Europeans to *kowtow* is interesting though not strictly relevant to our subject. The Pope's letter of introduction to Edward I and the latter's letter to Argon contain little of interest. cf. *Hist. de Mar Jab. III.* pp. 233–235; and Rymer *Foedera*, tom. II., 1705, p. 429 ("An. 17. E.I.L.A. f. 44. Penes Camerar."); *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1904, 18 Ed. I. membrane 5*d* (undated, entered between 12 and 22 Sept., 1290).

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[35] Kaikhatu seems to have been the son of Abaga and Tukdan khatun. His name was Irinjin Turji, by which name (I-lien-chên To-êrh-chih) he is entered in the *Yüan shih* c. 107 fol. 7v°, as a brother of Abaga. Marco Polo also says: E quant argon fo mort un son uncle qe frer carnaus auoit este de abaga son pere qe auoit a non quiacatu . . . prist la seignorie . . . cf. *Il Milione* p. 229.

[36] Ghazan (in Chinese Ho-tsan, cf. *Yüan shih l.c.*) was born 30 November, 1271, and reigned 1295–1304.

After considerable difficulty some kind of peace was made at Arbela in 1297, but on the other hand an edict was issued ordering Christians to pay the poll tax and to wear girdles when they went out. The next year was passed by the Patriarch in attendance on Ghazan who showed him marked favour, and the winter of 1298/9 was spent at Arbela. After a visit to court he spent the summer at Maragha, returning to Arbela again for the winter. In September, 1300, Ghazan spent three days with him at Maragha where he was busily occupied with the building of the convent of St. John Baptist. In the spring of 1301 he was attacked by the Kurds and slightly wounded, to the great annoyance of Ghazan with whom he was travelling.

On 13 September, 1301, the convent was consecrated with great solemnity and rejoicing. The account of it with its splendours and conveniences and relics occupies several pages and is of special interest as giving a clue to the date of the book. It is all written in the present tense and includes such a sentence as this: "There are special apartments for the Patriarch. His throne is there now, and he never leaves the place." It seems to be known that the Patriarchs did not make Maragha their head-quarters for long after the death of Mar Jabalaha, and so this passage, added to one where it is implied that the author was an eyewitness of the persecutions of 1295, makes it probable that the book was written about the year 1320, and perhaps by an inmate of this monastery.

In the spring of 1303 Ghazan visited Maragha again and gave the convent a valuable cross which had been sent him by the Pope, brought perhaps by the mission in which Buscarel had taken part and which had been joined by Geoffrey de Langles and Nicholas de Chartres, envoys of Edward I, and bearing letters from him dated 12 March, 1302, to Ghazan and to the Patriarch of the East. These envoys seem to have equipped themselves at Genoa, their purchases including silver plate to the value of £193 12*s*. 7*d*. and armour, with seven iron plates and eleven basinets, costing £44 5*s*. At Trebizond they bought a parasol, and another at Tabriz.[37]

The following winter the Patriarch spent as usual at Arbela, returning to Maragha in May to write a letter, which has become famous, and to hear a few days later of the death of Ghazan which had taken place on 17 May. Mar Jabalaha's letter to the Pope dated at Maragha, 18 May, 1304, has given rise to the story that the Nestorian church was reconciled to Rome at that time. Some of the expressions are no doubt strong: "Vicar of the Lord Jesus Christ over the whole Christian faith," he calls the Pope, and writes in the profession of faith which is added to the letter: "We believe in the holy Roman chief pontiff and universal father of all believers in Christ, and confess that he is the successor of the blessed Peter, universal vicar of Jesus Christ over all the sons of the church from the east to the west; love and affection for whom is fixed in our hearts; and we owe obedience to him, and ask and implore his blessing, and are ready for all his commands, humbly asking and imploring his help in our necessity and tribulations in which we have now been for a long time and still remain. And may the good father not turn away his face from us, since we are all brothers in Christ and his sons through the true catholic faith, and may he deign to raise our hearts to joy and comfort by his letter, telling us what we ought to do and what is pleasing and acceptable to your Holiness."[38] Mar Jabalaha may, like other members of his church, have sincerely professed his innocence of Nestorian or any other heresy, but obedience to the see of Rome is another matter, and it seems clear that the statements in the letter were made in the hope of winning that temporal support against the Moslems for which he so plainly asked. The approval of the rest of the church was perhaps neither asked nor obtained and, apart from this letter and from certain partial and temporary exceptions at a later date, the Patriarch of the East has remained independent of Rome.

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[37] *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. VIII. pp. 49, 50. cf. *Hist. de Mar Jab. III*. pp. 142, 256, 257.

Ghazan was succeeded by his brother Oljaitu or Kharbanda, who the Christians supposed would show them even more favour than Arghun had done. But in this they were mistaken, for he showed such favour to the Moslems that they were with difficulty restrained from seizing the new convent at Maragha and turning it into a mosque. The Patriarch was however able to build himself a great palace at Arbela in the winter of 1305/6; but his efforts to save the Christians from taxation failed. In 1306 Oljaitu began to build his new capital Sultania on a scale of extreme magnificence. In the spring of 1308 he paid an unexpected visit to the convent at Maragha, where he seems to have been so well treated that his heart was softened towards the Christians; and when the Patriarch, who reached the convent the day after the Khan had left, had caught him up he seems to have had no difficulty in obtaining a decree exempting all clergy and monks from the poll tax. So things appear to have gone on in comparative peace until the Patriarch reached Arbela, after a nearly fatal illness on the road, in November 1309.

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[38] The complete Latin text of this letter is given by Chabot, *Hist. de Mar Jab. III*. pp. 250–255. The actual letter, written in Arabic, has recently been found in the Vatican archives, and published with French translation by Mgr. Tisserant. cf. Pelliot, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 1922/3, p. 5.

A quarrel having arisen among the nominally Christian mountaineers at Arbela over the pay of the troops, Oljaitu sent Nasr, a great enemy of the Christians, to settle the question. This man seems to have planned a regular siege of the citadel when he found that the Christians declined to come down to be massacred. The Patriarch was brought down by force on 9 March, 1310, and sent to his old convent of Mar Michael at Tar'el, where he tried to do something to help the besieged Christians who remained in the citadel. He sent for instance a Metropolitan to the court who was introduced to Rashid and gave him the following message, which seems to fix the date when Mark and Rabban Sauma left China as 1275 or 1276: My lord the Catholicos salutes you and says, You know that it is thirty-five years since I came from the East and that I have been placed in this see by the will of God and have served and blessed seven kings in all patience and fear of God, etc. But his efforts were of little use, and after an amount of massacre and fighting, intrigue and negotiation, which seems too great to have got into so short a time, the citadel was taken by the Arabs on 1 July, 1310, and all the inhabitants put to death or sold.

In July Mar Jabalaha went to the court where he was well treated, and after certain affairs had been arranged, he went to his convent at Maragha, determined never to go to court again. I am tired, he said, of serving the Mongols. The next summer he went to Tabriz to see his friends the amir Irinjin and his wife, and then returned to Maragha.

"The Catholicos passed the winter of the year 1623 of the Greeks (1311/2) in the monastery, and also the summer. Some of his counsellors explained his situation to the king, who granted him 5000 *dinars* as a yearly pension. He granted him also some villages in the neighbourhood of

Baghdad. The number of venerable fathers, Metropolitans and Bishops, whom he consecrated by the laying on of his hands amounts up to this year to seventy-five. That is all.

" He lived in the monastery which he had built until the year 1629 of the Greeks. He died there on the night of the Sunday *ma shbich mashknak*, 15 Teschri the second (November, 1317), and was buried there. May his memory be blessed."

A life of " Jaballâha tertius " forms the last of the *Lives of the Patriarchs of the Eastern Church* written in Arabic in the first half of the fourteenth century by Amrus or Sliba, and adds a few details to the much longer Syriac life.[39] It begins : " This father was young and handsome, with a beard shaped like a dagger. . . . He was a Turk by race from the land of Ḫaṭâ (Cathay). He left his native land to perform some duty with which he had been charged by the great Khan;[40] but the reason of his coming here was a visit to Jerusalem. . . . He was accompanied moreover by Rabbân Barsûma, who had been his master and teacher, . . . a learned and knowing man, perfect in bodily beauty, of great stature and handsome face and figure." After an elaborate account of his consecration it proceeds : " He attained a degree of dignity and honour which had fallen to the lot of none of his predecessors, so that the Mongol kings and khans and their children bared their heads in his presence, and rode in front of him. His power was felt in all the kingdoms of the East, and the influence and glory of the Christians was at its zenith in his days; but towards the end of his life they fell into contempt and the imposition of taxes which continues to this day was revived. . . . This father lived to a great age, and died at the going out of the Sabbath before the third Sunday of the consecration of the church, the 13 November in the year 1629, supp. pasch. 7. [1]8.4., that is 7 ramaḏân of the year of the Arabs 717.[41] He was buried in the monastery which he had built under the name of St. John, but when the Moslems conquered and occupied the convent his body was transferred to the monastery of St. Michael in the district of Arbela." [42]

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[39] The text and Latin version are in *Maris Amri et Slibae de Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria*, ed. H. Gismond S.J., 1896, 97, 99. The life of Jabalaha III is in Part II., and the Latin version on pp. 71, 72. It differs slightly from that by R. Hilgenfeld (Leipzig, 1896) which is printed in Chabot's *Supplément* pp. 5–7.

[40] This detail seems to be confirmed by Bar Hebraeus. cf. Chabot, *Supplément*, p. 7.

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[41] There is some difficulty about the date of his death. This version reads: obiit sabbato exeunte ante dominicam tertiam consecrationis ecclesiae, 13 novembris anno 1629, supp. pasch. 7.8.4, idest 7 ramaḏân anni arabum 717. Hilgenfeld has: die Saturni mortuus est,nocte tertii Solis diei inde a consecratione ecclesiae, qui tertius decimus teschrini secundi anni 1629 Graecorum est, in calendario . . . ? qui cadit in septimum ramadhani anni 717 Arabum. Chabot's version of the Syriac is: Il y mourut la nuit du [samedi au] dimanche *ma schbich maschknak*, 15 Teschri second (novembre 1317). Some mistake there seems to be both in the Syriac text and in the Arabic, but if we say that the Arabic is right in the day of the month, 13, and the Syriac right in the day of the week, Sunday, we shall conclude that the Patriarch died on what we should call the Saturday evening before Sunday, 13 November, 1317, according to the Julian Calendar, or 21 November, according to the Gregorian. 7 ramadan A. H. 717 also corresponds with Sunday, 21 November (Gregorian), 1317. By the ordinary computation the Greek year 1629 was 1 September, 1317, to 31 August, 1318; but on p. 42 of Gismond's version of Amrus there is an instance where the author makes it certain, by the addition of the Arabian date, that September 1168 was September A.D. 857, not 856. November however would always be at the beginning of the Greek year.

[42] The last sentence, compared with the passages relating to the convent and the burial of the Patriarch from the Syriac life (pp. 123, 126 above), makes the early and practically contemporary date of the original certain.

CHAPTER V

EXTRACTS FROM MARCO POLO'S *DESCRIPTION OF THE WORLD*

THE following extracts from Marco Polo include not only the mentions which he makes of the Nestorian communities which he found in China but some part of the story of his own dealings with the great Khan and those of his father and uncle before him. Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, merchants of Venice, left Constantinople in 1260 or 1261 and were led on by force of circumstances from stage to stage till they reached the great Khan at Shang-tu about 1265 or 1266. They were quickly sent back with letters to the Pope and reached their home in Venice in 1269. They left again towards the end of 1271 and reached Shang-tu in the summer of 1275 if we can trust the statement that they took three and a half years over the return journey. They had taken with them this time Marco, a boy of seventeen, and the three stayed in China for some seventeen years, finally reaching Venice after a long sea voyage in 1295. Marco's famous book was written from his dictation and notes by Rustichello of Pisa in 1298, when the two were prisoners of war together at Genoa. The best copy of the book that survives is a manuscript written in Italy early in the fourteenth century in the original rough Franco-Italian dialect and now kept at Paris.[1] Many additional passages of great interest are supplied by Ramusio's printed edition of 1559, and some more by a Latin manuscript recently found at Milan.

1. And when the great lord who had Kubilai Kaan for

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[1] Bibliothèque Nationale MS. français 1116. The following extracts are translated, with one exception, either from this MS. or from RAMUSIO's *Navigationi e viaggi*, 2nd ed., 1583; but references are given to *Il Milione*, 1928, the fine edition by L. F. BENEDETTO, which contains the most complete text yet published.

name, who was lord of all the Tartars of the world and of all the provinces and kingdoms and regions of that vast part of the earth, had heard all the doings of the Latins so as the two brothers had told him well and skilfully it pleases him beyond measure. He says to himself that he will send messengers to the Apostle (the Pope). And then he prays the two brothers that they go on this embassy with one of his barons. They answered him that they will do all his commandment as that of their liege lord. . . . After this the great lord has his letters made in the Turkish tongue to send to the Apostle and entrusts them to the two brothers and to his baron, and charges them that which he wishes them to say on his part to the Apostle. And you may know that in the letter and in the embassy was contained that which he [desired] him, [as] you shall hear. He sent to the Apostle saying that he must send as many as a hundred wise men of the Christian religion and who should know also the seven arts and who should know well how to argue and to show plainly to the idolaters and to the other classes of people that all their [religion was] erroneous and all the idols which they keep in their houses and worship are devilish things, and who should know well how to show clearly by reason that the Christian religion is better than theirs. Again the great lord charges the two brothers that they must bring him some of the oil of the lamp which burns above the sepulchre of God in Jerusalem. . . .

They go [on the return journey in 1271] till they were come to Laias. And when they were come there it does not stay a moment before this Legate was chosen Apostle and was called Pope Gregory of Placentia. The two brothers have great joy at this. And after this it does not stay a moment before a messenger came to Laias on behalf of the Legate who was chosen Pope to Master Nicolo and Master Maffeo with a message saying to them that if they were not gone they must come back to him. The two brothers have great joy at this and said that they will do so gladly. And what shall I tell you about it? The king of Armenia made them fit out a galley for the two brothers and sent them to the Legate with honour.

And when they were come to Acre they go off to Master the Apostle and salute him very humbly. Master the Apostle received them with honour and gives them his blessing and makes joy and feasting for them. Then the Apostle gives to Master Nicolo and to Master Maffeo two Brothers Preachers who were really the most learned men that were in all that province. The one had the name Brother Nicolo of Vicenza, the other had the name Brother William of Tripoli. He gives them privileges and letters and his charge of that which he wished to send to the great Kaan. And when Master Nicolo and Master Maffeo and the two Brothers Preachers have received the privileges and the letters and the charge of Master the Apostle they obtain his blessing. Then they set out all four and with them Marco the son of Master Nicolo. They went off quite straight to Laias. And when they were come there then Bondocdaire who was sultan of Babylon (Egypt) comes into Armenia with a great host and does great damage through the country, and these messengers were in danger to be slain. And when the two Brothers Preachers saw this they have great fear to go on farther. Then they said that they will not go at all. They give all the privileges and letters which they had to Master Nicolo and Master Maffeo and departed from them and go off with the Master of the Temple.

And Master Nicolo and Master Maffeo and Marco the son of Nicolo set themselves on the way and ride both by winter and by summer till they were come to the great Kaan who was then at a city that was called Clemeinfu (K'ai-p'ing fu or Shang tu) which was very rich and great. . . . Moreover you may know that they go there with difficulty in quite three years and a half, and this was for the snow and for rain and for the great rivers and because they cannot ride in winter as in summer. And he tells you for truth that when the great Kaan knows that Master Nicolo and Master Maffeo were coming he sends his messengers quite forty day's marches to meet them. And they were very much honoured and served with everything.

And what shall I tell you about it? When Master Nicolo and Master Maffeo and Marco were come into that great city they go off to the chief palace where they find the great Kaan with a very great company of barons. . . . Then they present him with the privileges and the letters which the Apostle sends him, in which he had great delight. Next they hand him the holy oil, at which he made great rejoicing and holds it very dear.[2]

2. One finds a city which is called Sacion which belongs to the great Kaan. The province is called Tangut. They are all idolaters; though it is true that there are some Nestorian Christians, and also there are Saracens.[3]

3. Ghinghintalas is a province which again is next to the desert. . . . It belongs to the great Kaan. There are cities and villages enough. There are three kinds of people; these are idolaters and those who worship Mahomet and Nestorian Christians.[4]

4. At the end of ten day's journeys one finds a province which is called Suctuir in which are cities and villages enough; and the chief city is called Suctiu. There are Christians and idolaters. They belong to the great Kaan.[5]

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[2] *Il Milione* pp. 6, 8, 9. Ramusio and some other texts add that the Pope gave the two Dominican Brothers "letters and privileges and authority to ordain priests and bishops and to give every form of absolution as he would do in his own person. And next he gave them presents of very great value and many fair vessels of crystal to present to the great Kaan."

[3] *Il Mil.* p. 44. The Milan MS., Z, reads sed aliqui turchi christiani qui nestoriam (? nestorianam) legem tenent sunt; and some other texts to the same effect. Sacion is Sha chou near the modern Tun-huang in the province of Kan-su. Near it was found the famous hoard of ancient MSS., among which was at least one Christian text found by Pelliot in 1908. cf. pp. 52–57 above. Tangut had been conquered by Chingis in 1226. cf. *Yüan shih* c. 1 fol. 9v°. Z fol. 27v° (*Il Mil.* p. 46) adds that there are many Nestorian Christians at Carachoco (*i.e.* Carachoço, Karakhoja), and that they intermarry freely with the idolaters.

[4] *Il Mil.* p. 47. Z reads quidam sunt Christiani turchi legem sectantes nestoriam (*sic* again). Ghinghintalas has been identified by M. A. J. H. Charignon with Barkul, an identification which seems to be confirmed by the researches of Sir Aurel Stein and Mr N. M. Penzer and is probably approximately right.

[5] *Il Mil.* p. 48. Suctuir and Suctiu (the difference in spelling being probably accidental) are the circuit and the city of Su chou in Kan-su. For the form Suk chou, apparently preserved by Marco Polo, see Pelliot, *JA*, mai-juin 1912, pp. 591–593 (*Kao-tch'ang, Qočo* &c.). Ricci in the 17th century still wrote Socceo. cf. *Op. Stor.*, I. p. 550.

5. Canpicion is a city which is in the same Tangut, which is a very great city and noble; and it is the head and rules all the province of Tangut. The people are idolaters, and there are some of those who worship Mahomet. And again there are Christians; and in this town they have three churches large and beautiful.[6]

6. In such way as you have heard were the two vast armies [of Chingis and Prester John] in that plain Tenduc. And one day Chingis Khan makes astrologers who were Christians and Saracens come before him and orders them that they should be able to tell him who must win the battle between him and Prester John. The astrologers viewed it by their arts. The Saracens do not know how to tell him the truth of it, but the Christians show it clearly there. For they have a cane before him and cut it through the middle lengthwise. And then they put one [half] on one side and the other on another and no one held it. Then they put as on one half of the cane Chingis Khan and on the other cane Prester John, and said to Chingis Khan, Sir, now look at these canes and see that this is your name and the other is the name of Prester John, and therefore when we shall have made our enchantment he whose cane shall come above the other will win the battle. Chingis Khan says that he wishes indeed to see that and told the astrologers to show it him as soon as they can. And then the Christian astronomers have the Psalter and read certain psalms and make their enchantments, and then the cane on which was the name of Chingis Khan, without anyone touching it, joins itself to the other and mounts up on that of Prester John; and this was in the sight of all those who were there. And when Chingis Khan sees it he has great joy thereat,

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[6] *Il Mil.* p. 48. Canpicion is identified with Kan-chou in Kan-su, which was not made the capital of the province until 1286. cf. *Yüan shih* c. 60 fol. 12v°; c. 91 fol. 1, 2. For evidence of the existence of at least one Christian monastery at Kan-chou see *Yüan shih* c. 38 fol. 5v°: On 7 April, 1335, the Metropolitan Ministers said, The Empress Dowager Pieh-chi, the mother of the Emperor Shih Tsu (Kubilai), was reverently laid within the Monastery of the Cross in the circuit of Kan-chou in Kan-su. For a Monastery of the Cross (Shih tzŭ kuan) still existing outside the N. gate of Lan-chou cf. *New China Review*, 1919, p. 89.

and because he finds the Christians in the truth he always afterward did great honour to the Christians and had them for men of truth and trustworthy, and held [them so] always afterwards.[7]

7. One finds a kingdom which is called Ergiuul. And it belongs to the great Kaan and is part of the great province of Tangut which has several kingdoms. The people are Nestorian Christians and idolaters and those who worship Mahomet. There are cities enough, and the capital city is Ergigul. And from this city towards scirocco (S.E.) one can go into the countries of Cathay, and on this road of scirocco towards the countries of Cathay he finds a city which is called Singiu, and there are towns and cities enough, and it is part of the same Tangut and belongs to the great Kaan. The people are idolaters and people who worship Mahomet, and there are some Christians.[8]

8. The capital city [of Egrigaia] is called Calacian. The people are idolaters and there are three churches of Nestorian Christians.[9]

9. Tenduc is a province towards the sunrising which has towns and villages enough. They are subject to the great Kaan, for the descendants of Prester John are subject to the great Kaan. The capital city is named Tenduc. And one of the line of Prester John is king of this province, and he is still a priest; his name is George. He holds the land for the great Kaan, but not all that which Prester John held, but some part of that. But I tell you also that the great Kaan have always given of their daughters and of their

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[7] *Il Mil.* p. 52. Marco Polo seems to be wrong in placing this battle in Tenduc (T'ien-tê), the land of Prester John's supposed descendant King George.

[8] *Il Mil.* p. 58. Ergiuul (the spelling is very uncertain) seems to be the Mongol name of the Chinese Yung-ch'ang, the modern Liang-chou. Singiu is commonly identified with Hsi-ning chou, and this is strengthened by Z: quedam civitas nomine Singui et provincia vocatur Silingui. On the other hand, as M. Charignon has pointed out (*Le Livre de Marco Polo*, I. p. 233. cf. *JNCBRAS*, 1915, p. 27), Hsi-ning is S.W. and not S.E. of Yung-ch'ang. Z has once more: christiani turchi secundum legem nestoriam.

[9] *Il Mil.* p. 60. Egrigaia is the Mongol name of Chung-hsing or Ning-hsia in Kan-su. The explanation of Calacian seems still to be uncertain.

kindred to the kings who reign who are of the lineage of Prester John. . . . The rule belongs to Christians as I have told you, but there are idolaters enough and men who worship Mahomet. . . . And this George whom I have named to you is of the lineage of Prester John, as I have said in the story, and is the sixth lord since Prester John. . . . And when one rides through this province seven day's marches by sunrising towards Cathay one finds many cities and villages in which there are people who worship Mahomet and idolaters and some Nestorian Christians.[10]

10. And you may know that Naian was a baptized Christian and in this battle he had the Cross of Christ on the standard. . . . When Naian and his men saw that they could bear up no more they set themselves to flight. But it availed them nothing, for Naian was caught and all his barons and his men gave themselves up with their arms to the great Kaan. . . . And after the great Kaan had done this and won this battle, the races of people who were there, Saracens, idolaters, and Jews and many other people who do not believe in God, made fun of the Cross which Naian had carried on his banner and spoke against the Christians who were there, See how the Cross of your God has helped Naian who was a Christian. They made so great fun of it and so great mockery that they came before the great Kaan. And when the great Kaan hears it he spoke evil to those who made fun of it before him. Then he calls many Christians who were there and he begins to comfort them and says, If the Cross of your God has not helped Naian it has done very right, because it is good nor ought to do [anything] if not good and right. Naian who came against

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[10] *Il Mil.* pp. 60, 61. Z aliqui sunt christiani turchi nestorini. Tenduc or T'ien-tê is the country through which the northern reach of the Yellow River flows; but the identification of the capital has proved more difficult. Odoric calls it Tozan (cf. p. 96 above), and the *History of Mar Jabalaha* Koshang, which may easily be a slip for Toshang. W. W. Rockhill in *Explorations in Mongolia and Tibet* p. 659, and Pelliot in *T'oung-pao*, 1914, p. 634, have shown that the place was probably either Tokto or Tung-shêng near the north-east bend of the River. For the existence of Christians in 1276 at Hsi-ching (*i.e.* Ta-t'ung), in which circuit Tung-shêng was, cf. *Yüan shih* c. 9 fol. 4v°. Rubruck also mentions a Nestorian bishop at Segin. cf. p. 104 above.

his lord was both disloyal and treacherous, and so there is great right in that which is happened to him and the Cross of your God did well if it does not help him against right, because it is a good thing nor ought to do other than well. The Christians answered the great Kaan, Most great Sir, say they, you speak indeed truth, for the Cross would not do ill nor disloyalty as Naian did who was a traitor and disloyal against his lord. And he has indeed had that of which he was worthy. Such words there were between the great Kaan and the Christians about the Cross which Naian had carried on his ensign.[11]

11. And when the great Kaan had conquered Naian in such way as you have heard, then he goes back to the capital city of Cambaluc. And it was in the month of November; and here he stayed till the month of February and March when our Easter is, when knowing that this was one of our chief festivals he made all the Christians come to him, and wished them to bring him the book in which are the four Gospels, to which he made them offer incense many times with great ceremony, kissed it devoutly and wished all his barons and lords who were present to do the same. And he always observes this custom at the chief feasts of the Christians such as are Easter and the Nativity. He does the like at the principal feasts of the Saracens, Jews, and idolaters. And when he was asked the reason, he said, There are four Prophets who are worshipped and to whom all the world does reverence. The Christians say their God is Jesus Christ, the Saracens Mahomet, the Jews Moses, the idolaters Sogomoni Borcan, who was the first God of the idols; and I do honour and reverence to all four, that is to him who is the greater in heaven and more true, to him I pray that he may help me. But by that which the great Kaan showed he holds the Christian faith for the most true and good, because he says that it does not command a

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[11] *Il Mil.* pp. 69, 70. Naian, who was Kubilai's cousin, made a rebellion in 1287. The statement that he was a Christian seems to be corroborated, as Professor Pelliot tells me, by an inscription which Pozdnéev found in Mongolia. It is dated 1287 and says that Naian did not hold the Buddhist faith. cf. *Mongoliya*, vol. II. p. 328.

thing which is not full of all goodness and holiness. And by no means will he suffer the Christians to carry the Cross before them, and this because on it was scourged and put to death such a man and so great as was Christ. Some one may say, Since he holds the faith of Christ for the best, why does he not attach himself to it and become a Christian? The reason is this, as he said to Master Nicolo and to Maffeo when he sent them as ambassadors to the Pope, and they at the time began some talk about the faith of Christ. He said to them, How do you wish me to make myself a Christian? You see that the Christians in these parts are so ignorant that they do nothing and have no power; and you see that these idolaters do whatever they please, and when I am sitting at table the cups which are in the middle of the hall come to me full of wine or drink or of other things, without anyone touching them, and I drink with them. They compel the bad weather to go in any direction they please and do many wonderful things. And as you know their idols speak and tell them all that they wish. But if I am converted to the faith of Christ and make myself a Christian, then my barons and other people who are not attached to the faith of Christ would say to me, What reason has moved you to baptism and to hold the faith of Christ? What powers or what miracles have you seen of him? And these idolaters say that what they do they do it by the holiness and power of the idols. Then I should not know what to answer them, so that there would be very great uncertainty among them; and these idolaters who do such things with their arts and knowledge could easily make me die. But you shall go to your High Priest and shall pray him on our behalf to send me a hundred men skilled in your religion who before these idolaters may be able to reprove what they do and may say to them that they know and can do such things but will not, because they are done by diabolical art and through evil spirits, and may so restrain them that they may not have power to do such things in their presence. Then when we shall see this we shall condemn them and their religion; and so I shall be baptized, and when I shall be baptized all my barons and great men will be baptized, and then their subjects will receive baptism, and so there will be more Christians here than there are in your parts. And if, as has been said at the beginning, men should have been sent by the Pope suited to preach our faith to him the said Great Kaan would have been made a Christian, because it is known for certain that he had a great desire to be so.[12]

12. On this day all the idolaters and all the Christians and all the Saracens and all the races of people make great petitions and great prayers to the idols and to their God that he save them their lord and that they give him long life and joy and health.[13]

13. And you may know that no man who dies is buried in the town. But if he is an idolater then he is carried to the place where the body must be burnt, which is outside all the suburbs. And if he is of another religion whom they ought to bury, such as a Christian and Saracen and other kind of person, they carry him also far outside the suburbs to a special place; so that the land is worth more and is more wholesome in consequence.[14]

14. And the reason why it was said that the bearded ones should be massacred is that the Cathayans are naturally without beards, and the Tartars and Saracens and Christians wear them. And you should know that all the Cathayans hated the rule of the great Kaan because he set over them Tartar, and for the most part Saracen, rulers and they were not able to submit to them, seeming to them to be like slaves. And then the great Kaan had not the rule of the province of Cathay by right, since he had taken it by force; and not trusting them he gave the rule of the province to

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[12] *Il Mil.* pp. 70, 71. For this passage, except the first sentence, RAMUSIO (tom. II. fol. 20 F, 21 AB) remains the sole authority.

[13] *Il Mil.* p. 82. "this day" is the great Kaan's birthday. Kubilai was born on the 28th day of the 8th month (23 September), 1215. cf. *Yüan shih* c. 4 fol. 11°. On 22 September, 1279, a decree was published abolishing the Birthday and New Year festivals as being unduly burdensome to the people. *Yüan shih* c. 10 fol. 9v°.

[14] *Il Mil.* pp. 90, 91. and for the last sentence PAUTHIER, *Le Livre de Marc Pol*, I. p. 316. Two or three old graves used however to be seen in the barbican of one of the gates of Peking. The rule has been enforced in some other large cities in China but was by no means universal.

Tartars, Saracens, and Christians, who were of his own family and loyal to him and were not of the province of Cathay.[15]

15. There are then in the city of Cambaluc, between Christians, Saracens, and Cathayans, about five thousand astrologers and diviners whom the great Kaan causes to be provided with food and clothes every year, like the poor people aforesaid, and they are always exercising their art in the city. For they have a certain *Astrology* of theirs in which are written the signs of the planets, the hours and minutes of the whole year. Every year therefore the aforesaid Christian, Saracen, and Cathayan astrologers, each sect by themselves, watch the course and arrangement of the whole year in this *Astrology* and the course of every moon. . . .[16]

16. At the end of these five day's journeys [from the river Brius] then one finds the capital city and that which is head of the kingdom, which is called Iaci, which is very great and noble. There are merchants and artizans enough. The people are of several sorts, for there are people who worship Mahomet and idolaters and few Christians, who are Nestorian.[17]

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[15] *Il Mil.* p. 79. This passage comes from the chapter (in RAMUSIO, tom. II., 1583, fol. 25 c, only) about the murder of Ahmad, Kubilai's chief Minister, and an abortive plot against the Mongol rule. cf. *JNCBRAS*, 1927, pp. 1–35; 1928, pp. 256, 257. With regard to the position of Christians in the empire Rashid u'd Din says that the members of the Imperial Council (*Tsai-hsiang*) were taken from the nations of the Tajiks, Cathayans, Uigurs, and Arkaun (Christians). cf. YULE-CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, I. p. 432.

[16] *Il Mil.* p. 100. This passage is peculiar to RAMUSIO and Z. Z fol. 36r° (*Il Mil.* pp. 107, 108) adds below that there are Nestorian Christian Turks at Quenzanfu (Hsi-an) and in the country both east and west of it. RAMUSIO, who reproduces two of these three passages, seems to have taken the Turks as a separate class: "Christiani, Turchi, Nestorini" and "Christiani e Turchi."

[17] *Il Mil.* p. 115. This is in the province of Caraian (Ha-la-chang or Yün-nan). The presence of Moslems and Christians in that remote region may possibly have been due to the influence of the great Moslem Sayyid Ajal Omar and the Christian Mar Sargis. cf. A. VISSIÈRE, *Études Sino-Mahométanes*, 1re série; and *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois* p. 435; and p. 148 and chapter VI below. The presence of both Christians and Moslems in Yün-nan in 1295 is confirmed by the *Yüan tien chang* c. 24 fol. 13r°. Here Z fol. 42v° reads: quamplures sunt in eo gentes que Macometi legem observant sunt et aliqui Christiani Turchi Nestorini sed principales sunt ydola adorantes.

17. There are also some Christians there who have a church in the aforesaid city.[18]

18. A noble city and great which is called Yangiu. And you may know that it is so great and so powerful that it has indeed under its rule twenty-seven cities great and good and of great trade. In this city one of the twelve barons of the great Kaan has his seat, for it is chosen for one of the twelve seats. . . . And Master Marco Polo himself, he of whom this book treats, rules this city for three years.[19]

19. Cinghianfu is a city of Mangi. . . . There are two churches of Nestorian Christians. And this came about in the 1278th year from the incarnation of Christ, and I will tell you how it happened. It was true that there had never been a monastery of Christians there nor any believer in the Christian God until the 1278th year, [when] for three years Mar Sargis, who was a Nestorian Christian, was governor there for the great Kaan. And this Mar Sargis had those two churches built there, and from that time onwards there

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[18] *Il Mil.* p. 128. The city is Cacianfu, which has hitherto been identified with Ho-chien fu in Chih-li, an identification which is disputed by CHARIGNON in favour of Hêng-shan fu a former name of the modern Chêng-ting fu (*Le Livre de Marco Polo*, III. p. 2). The sentence is peculiar to RAMUSIO and Z.

[19] *Il Mil*: p. 137. RAMUSIO alone reads: And Master Marco Polo, by commission of the great Kaan, had the rule of it for three consecutive years in place of one of the said barons. The city is certainly Yang-chou on the Grand Canal. The mention of twenty-seven cities seems to indicate that Marco Polo was thinking of the circuit or *tao* of Huai-tung which in his day included 28 cities, Yang-chou the capital and 27 subordinate cities. The *Yang chou fu chih* or *History of Yang-chou fu* contains lists of the men who held various offices in the province, circuit, or city during the Yüan dynasty, and it is unfortunate that there is not a name among them which seems to suggest Marco Polo. For the existence of Christians at Yang-chou at a rather later date see pp. 224, 245 below and *Yüan tien chang* c. 36 fol. 36v°–38r° (a reference which I owe to the kindness of Professor PELLIOT). The latter passage details a dispute which was referred to the central government in August, 1317, in which Ao-la-han (Abraham) the head of the Monastery of the Cross of the Christians of Yang-chou (*Yang chou yeh li k'o wên shih tzŭ ssŭ*) was concerned. It states incidentally that Ao-la-han's father had founded the monastery some years before. Z fol. 58r° (*Il Mil.* p. 136) adds in a previous chapter that there are Nestorian Christian Turks at Panghim (usually identified with Pao-ying), and that they have one church there.

have been churches where before there was no church nor Christian.[20]

20. At the end of three day's journeys [from Cinghianfu] then one finds the city of Tinghingiu which is very great and noble. . . . Moreover I will tell you an evil thing which those of that city did and how they bought it dearly. It was true that when the province of Mangi was taken by the men of the great Kaan and Baian was their head, it happened that this Baian sends a part of his people who were Alans, who were Christians, to this city to take it. Now it happened that these Alans took it and entered into the city. And they find there such good wine that they drink so much of it that they were all drunken so that they slept in such a way that they perceived neither good nor bad. And when the men of the city saw that those who had taken it were so transformed that they resembled dead men, they make no delay but all immediately in that night they killed them all so that never a single one of them escapes. And when Baian the lord of the great army knows that those of this city had killed his men so treacherously he sends there enough of his men and they take it by force. And also I tell you quite truly that when they took it they killed them with the sword. And in such a way as you have heard were so many men slain in this city.[21]

[20] *Il Mil.* p. 141. The city is Chên-chiang fu (Chinkiang) on the Yang-tzŭ river. As this passage forms the subject of the next chapter no note is needed here.

[21] *Il Mil.* p. 142. The city, the name of which has become so strangely corrupted, is Ch'ang-chou on the Grand Canal. The city had surrendered to the Mongols on 30 March (or 12 April), 1275, but was recaptured by the Sung officers Chang Yen and Liu Shih-yung on 17 June. In October Wang Liang-ch'ên, who had given up the city in April and had escaped in June, led a force of " northern troops " to attack it. Liu Shih-yung and Wang An-chieh went out to meet him and defeated him. Next day however he managed to come up to the city walls, when the gates were suddenly opened and the Chinese troops came out to battle. The attacking forces were slaughtered wholesale, and the survivors fled only to fall into an ambush set by Liu Shih-yung, so that in the end less than half of them escaped. The siege seems to have continued however, for in November a relief party sent by Wên T'ien-hsiang arrived and was repulsed by the Mongols with great loss on the 15th and 16th. The final assault began with the arrival of Baian on 4 December and ended with the capture of the city on the 6th. A great slaughter of the Sung troops followed; Wang An-chieh was captured and

21. [In Quinsai] there is one church of Nestorian Christians only.[22]

22. We will say a thing which Master Marco told, for it is a good story. When Master Maffeo uncle of Master Marco Polo and Master Marco himself were in the said city of Fugiu, and a certain intelligent Saracen was in their company, he said this to them: In such a place is a certain manner of people whose religion no one understands. For it is not idolatry because they keep no idols; they do not worship fire; it does not profess Mahomet; nor also does it seem to have the Christian order. May it please you that we go to them and speak with them; perhaps you may learn something about their life. They went there and began to speak with them and to examine them and to inquire about their life and religion. But they seemed as it were to fear that they were examining them with a view to taking away their religion from them. And then the said Masters Maffeo and Marco, observing that they were afraid, began to exhort them and to say, Do not be afraid for we have not come here for your harm at all but only for good and the improvement of your condition. For they were afraid that they might have been sent by the great lord to make this examination and that they might get some harm from it. But Masters Maffeo and Marco frequented

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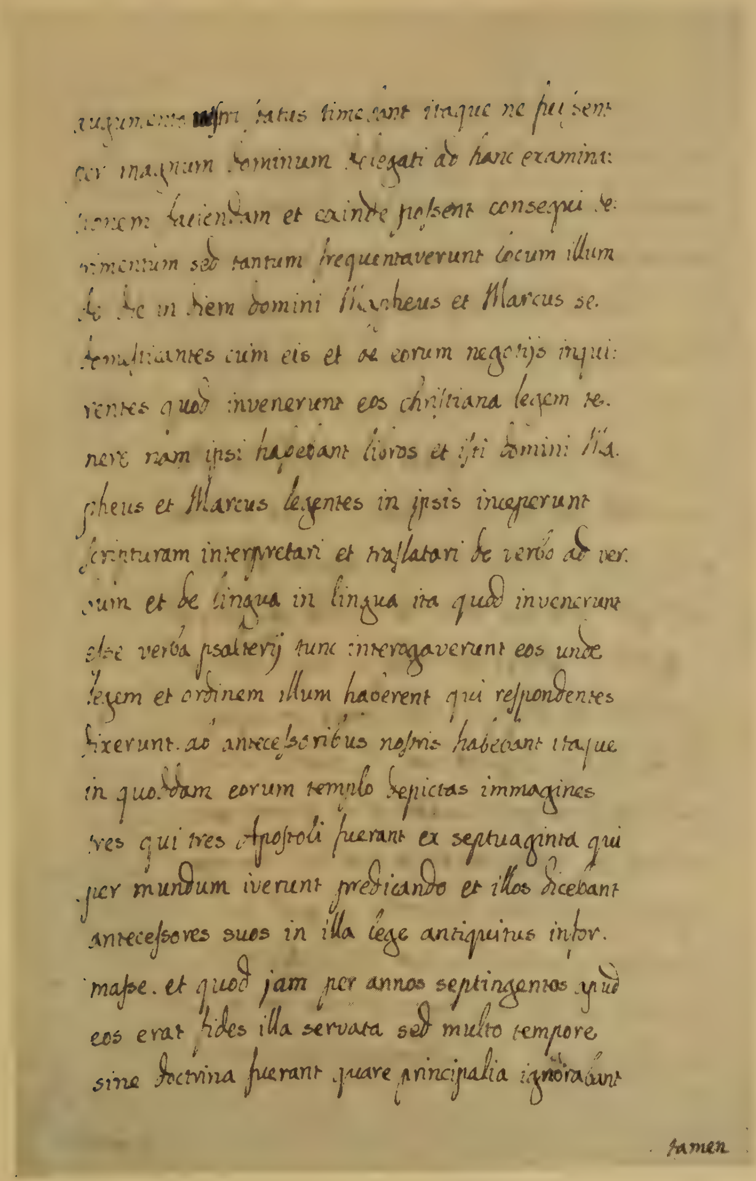
beheaded and Liu fled to Su-chou. Native accounts do not mention either the Alans or the wine, but it is recorded that more than one Alan officer with his men followed Baian on this expedition against the Sung, and elsewhere one or two Alan officers were murdered in the same treacherous way, and on the second occasion the whole Alan garrison of Chên-ch'ao, which had surrendered to the Mongols, was massacred; and the city was later re-taken by the Alan officer Ang-chi-êrh. cf. *Yüan shih* c. 132 fol. 1r°, 2v°, 4v°. While the city held out the country round suffered indescribable horrors. The people were caught and killed and their flesh cooked, and the fat made into balls which were apparently fired into the city out of cannon to make the woodwork of the buildings more inflammable. The diary of a traveller in 1276 is preserved and testifies to the horrors of the siege: "Early on the 16th (3 March, 1276) the boats reached Ch'ang-chou. The roads were blocked with the ruins of the burnt houses, the canal was filled with the corpses of the slain, and the stench was intolerable; far worse here than anywhere else." cf. *Ch'ien t'ang i shih* c. 7 fol. 7, c. 9 fol. 3; *Yüan shih* c. 8 fol. 8v°, 10r°, 11v°, c. 127 fol. 4v°. and PELLIOT, *T'oung-pao*, 1914, p. 641.

[22] *Il Mil.* p. 152. For this church at Hang-chou see p. 149 below.

that place so much from day to day, making themselves at home with them and asking about their business, that they found that they held the Christian religion. For they had books, and these Masters Maffeo and Marco reading in them began to interpret the writing and to translate from word to word and from tongue to tongue, so that they found it to be the words of the Psalter. Then they asked them whence they had that religion and order. And they answered and said, From our ancestors. They had also in a certain temple of theirs three figures painted who were three Apostles of the seventy who went preaching through the world. And they said that those had taught their ancestors in that religion long ago, and that that faith had already been preserved among them for seven hundred years, but for a long time they had been without teaching and so were ignorant of the chief things. Yet we hold this from our predecessors, namely that according to our books we celebrate and do reverence to these three, namely the Apostles. Then Masters Maffeo and Marco said, You are Christians and we are likewise Christians. We advise you to send to the great Kaan and explain to him your state, that he may come to know you and you may be at liberty to keep your religion and order. For because of the idolaters they did not well dare to express or hold their religion openly. So they sent two of them to the great Kaan. And Masters Maffeo and Marco also instructed them that they should present themselves first to a certain man who was head of the Christians at the court of the great Kaan, that he might declare their case in the presence of the lord. And the messengers did so. But what? He who was head of the Christians was declaring before the great Kaan that they were Christians and that they ought to be confirmed in his dominions as Christians. And he who was head of the worshippers of idols perceiving this raised a question on the opposite side, saying that this ought not to be, for the aforesaid were idolaters and had always been so and were reckoned as idolaters. And thus there was a great argument over this in the presence of the lord. Finally the lord being angry, making them all go away, ordered the



augumentum nostri status timebant itaque ne possent
per magnum dominum relegati ad hanc examina:
tionem faciendam et exinde possent consequi de:
trimentum sed tantum frequentaverunt locum illum
de die in diem domini Matheus et Marcus se.
dulitantes cum eis et de eorum negotijs inqui:
rentes quod invenerunt eos christiana legem te.
nere nam ipsi habebant libros et isti domini Ma.
theus et Marcus legentes in ipsis inceperunt
scripturam interpretari et translatari de verbo ad ver.
bum et de lingua in lingua ita quod invenerunt
esse verba psalterij tunc interrogaverunt eos unde
legem et ordinem illum haberent qui respondentes
dixerunt. ab antecessoribus nostris habebant itaque
in quodam eorum templo depictas immagines
tres qui tres Apostoli fuerant ex septuaginta qui
per mundum iverunt predicando et illos dicebant
antecessores suos in illa lege antiquitus infor.
masse. et quod jam per annos septingentos apud
eos erat fides illa servata sed multo tempore
sine doctrina fuerant quare principalia ignorabant

tamen

CHRISTIANS AT FU-CHOU

(A page from the Marco Polo manuscript Z, in the Ambrosian Library at Milan)

Fig. 13.

facing p. 142.

messengers to come to him, asking them whether they wished to be Christians or idolaters. And they answered that if it pleased him and were not contrary to his majesty they wished to be Christians as their predecessors had been. Then the great Kaan ordered privileges to be made for them, how they must be addressed as Christians and the laws of Christianity may be valid; and all who are included under this rule. For it was found that through the province of Mangi, here and there, were more than seven hundred thousand families who followed this rule.[23]

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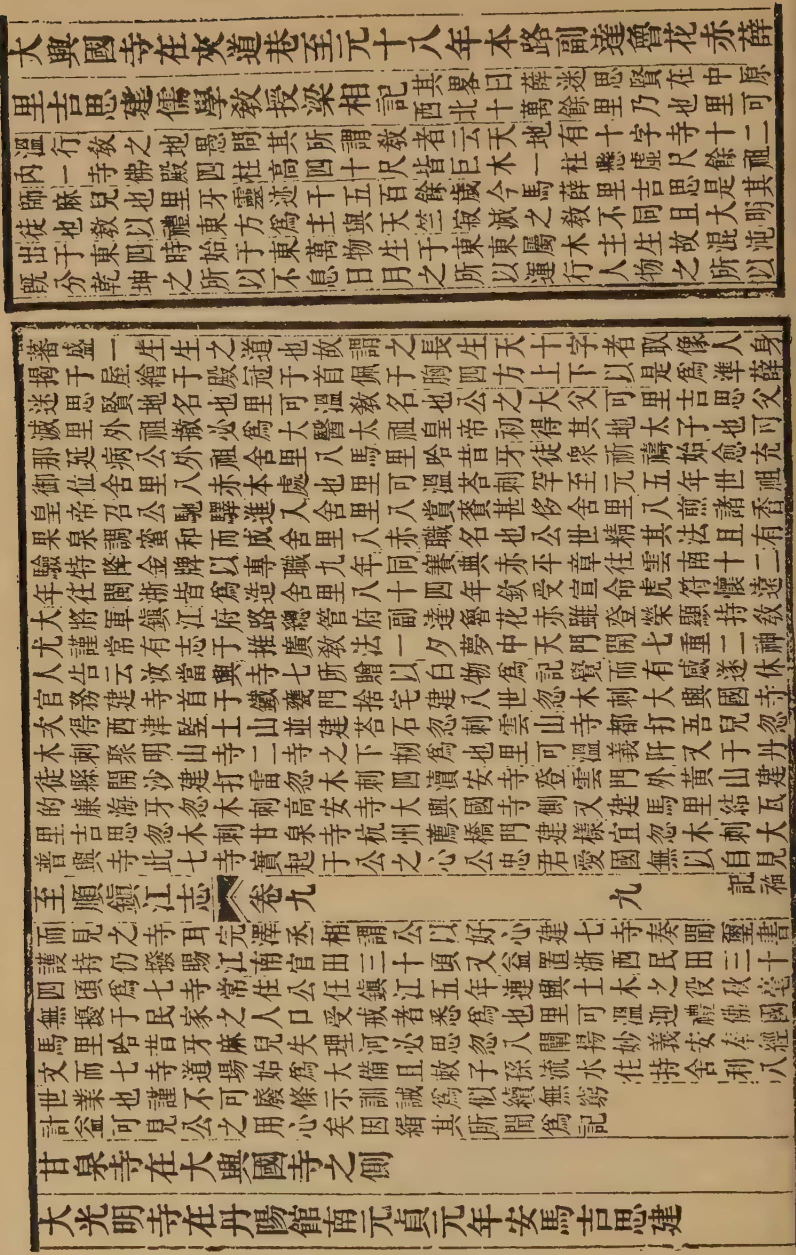
[23] *Il Mil.* p. 158. This passage is peculiar to Z (fol. 76v°–78v°), the Milan MS. which is said to be a late 18th century copy of a medieval MS. now lost. It comes in very irrelevantly (" They have many beautiful gardens and delectable with many good fruits. It is so good a city and so well ordered in all things that it is a wonder. *And that this may be clear we will say about it a thing which Master Marco told . . .*"); the omission of the passage, which would have been of great interest to a cleric like Pipino, from all other known MSS. is not easy to explain; and altogether there will be many questions for future scholars to discuss. The mere presence of a Nestorian church at Fu-chou on the south-east coast is surprising but not incredible. The Manichees are known to have been strong there for centuries. cf. PELLIOT, " Les traditions manichéennes au Fou-kien," *T'oung-pao*, 1923, pp. 193–214. The three Apostles of the Seventy (perhaps Addaeus, Mares, and Aghaeus. cf. pp. 18–22 above) and the Psalter are however two details which seem definitely to point to Nestorian Christians; and if the story may be accepted as trustworthy in all its parts, including the 700 years, it is of extreme interest as indicating the survival of a perceptible Christian congregation from the first mission of the 7th century, and the fact that they were not recognized as such by the Nestorians who had come with the Mongols; for the latter were recognized by the government and were free to practise their religion. As far as I know Wên-chou in Chê-chiang is the nearest point to Fu-chou at which the existence of the later Christians (*yeh-li-k'o-wên*) is recorded. cf. p. 222 below. The opinion of the head of the idolaters, the *three* Apostles, and the vast numbers of the adherents of this sect which were discovered raise an uncomfortable suspicion they may have been worshippers of the San Chiao or " Three Teachings " whom Marco Polo thus inadvertently hastened into the Christian Church. The number of 700000 families, if indeed they were Christians, must be one of Marco's largest exaggerations; but the " seven " also reminds us that in 1289 there were " here and there " 72 local offices for the management of the affairs of the Christians, and it is an interesting if idle thought that we may have here Marco Polo's account of the institution of the Ch'ung fu ssŭ (pp. 225 sqq. below). Marco may well have passed through Fu-chou in 1288 or 1289 on his way to or from India.

Just as this was going to press Professor PELLIOT wrote that in his opinion these " Christians " must have been Manichees. cf. *Journal des Savants*, January 1929, p. 42.



大興國寺在夾道巷至元十八年本路副達魯花赤薛里吉思建儒學教授梁相記（其畧曰薛迷思賢在中原西北十萬餘里乃也里可溫行教之地愚問其所謂教者云天地有十字寺十二內一寺佛殿四柱高四十尺皆巨木一柱懸虛尺餘祖師麻兒也里牙靈迹千五百餘歲今馬薛里吉思是其徒也教以禮東方為主與天竺寂滅之教不同且大明出于東四時始于東萬物生于東東屬木主生故混沌既分乾坤之所以不息日月之所以運行人物之所以蕃盛一生生之道也故謂之長生天十字者取像人身揭于屋繪于殿冠于首佩于胸四方上下以是為準薛迷思賢地名也也里可溫教名也公之大父可里吉思父滅里外祖撒必為太醫太祖皇帝初得其地太子也可那延病公外祖舍里八馬里哈昔牙徒眾祈禱始愈充御位舍里八赤本處也里可溫答剌罕至元五年世祖皇帝召公馳驛進入舍里八賞賚甚侈舍里八煎諸香果泉調蜜和而成舍里八赤職名也公世精其法且有驗特降金牌以專職九年同賽典赤平章往雲南十二年往閩浙皆為造舍里八十四年欽受宣命虎符懷遠大將軍鎮江府路總管府副達魯花赤雖登榮顯持教尤謹常有志于推廣教法一夕夢中天門開七重二神人告云汝當興寺七所贈以白物為記覺而有感遂休官務建寺首于鐵甕門捨宅建八世忽木剌大興國寺次得西津竪土山並建答石忽木剌雲山寺都打吾兒忽木剌聚明山寺二寺之下創為也里可溫義阡又于丹徒縣開沙建打雷忽木剌四瀆安寺登雲門外黃山建的廉海牙忽木剌高安寺大興國寺側又建馬里結瓦里吉思忽木剌甘泉寺杭州薦橋門建樣宜忽木剌大普興寺此七寺實起于公之心公忠君愛國無以自見而見之寺耳完澤丞相謂公以好心建七寺奏聞璽書護持仍撥賜江南官田三十頃又益置浙西民田三十四頃為七寺常住公任鎮江五年連興土木之役秋毫無擾于民家之人口受戒者悉為也里可溫迎禮佛國馬里哈昔牙麻兒失理河必思忽八闡揚妙義安奉經文而七寺道場始為大備且敕子孫流水住持舍剌八世業也謹不可廢條示訓誡為似續無窮計益可見公之用心矣因緝其所聞為記）

至順鎮江志 卷九 九 記補

甘泉寺在大興國寺之側

大光明寺在丹陽館南元貞元年安馬吉思建

CHAPTER VI

THE CHRISTIANS AT CHÊN-CHIANG FU

THE most complete account of a Christian community in China in the thirteenth century which is known as yet was found by the late Archimandrite Palladius in a rare book named *Chih shun chên chiang chih* or *History of Chên-chiang of the Chih-shun period.*[1] Chên-chiang is a port, commonly known as Chinkiang, on the south bank of the Yang-tzŭ about 140 miles from its mouth and at the point where the Grand Canal crosses the river. The passages which are translated below form a most interesting corroboration of Marco Polo's chapter on Cinghianfu (p. 139 above), which appears to be the only other source of information on the subject which has yet come to light. They need no other introduction or commentary beyond the explanation given in the footnotes.

1. The Ta-hsing-kuo Monastery is in the Chia-tao lane. It was built in the eighteenth Chih-yüan year (A.D. 1281) by Hsieh-li-chi-ssŭ,[2] assistant *darugha* (governor) of this Circuit.

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[1] A manuscript copy of this book came into the hands of the famous scholar and antiquary JUAN Yüan in 1795. The book is anonymous and undated, but internal evidence shows that it was written about the year 1333 and the authorship has been ascribed to YÜ Hsi-lu. A printed edition, edited by JUAN Yüan himself with the help of several friends, was issued by PAO Ching-wei in 1842. The references below are to the chapters and leaves of this edition, the title being shortened to *CSCCC*. PALLADIUS published versions of the more important passages in Russian in 1873 and then in English in *The Chinese Recorder*, 1875, pp. 108–113. The most important of the texts were printed by HAVRET in *Var. Sin.* 12. pp. 385, 386. All the relevant passages were printed with English versions by Dr Lionel GILES and myself in *T'oung-pao*, 1915, pp. 627–686.

[2] Sargis, Marco Polo's Marsarchis. The name Sargis or Mar Sargis (Ma Hsieh-li-chi-ssŭ) comes frequently in this book, and we find Hsieh-êrh-chi-ssŭ, governor of the circuit of Hang-chou in 1364, in *Wan li hang chou fu chih* c. 14 fol. 29; Hsi-êrh-chi-ssŭ or Hsi-li-chi-ssŭ in the *Yüan shih*; and Mo-sa-chi-ssŭ in the Tun-huang *Gloria in excelsis* (p. 55 above).

Liang Hsiang, Director of Classical Studies, wrote a commemorative inscription. The substance of it was as follows: Hsieh-mi-ssŭ-hsien [3] is distant from China more than ten myriad *li* [4] to the north-west. It is a land where the yeh-li-k'o-wên practise their religion. When I humbly asked about this so-named religion, they said that in the whole world there were twelve Monasteries of the Cross; among them one, of which the chapel had four pillars forty feet high, each an enormous tree. One pillar is hanging in the air more than a foot [from the floor].[5] The patriarch Ma-êrh Yeh-li-ya worked the miracle in the year 1500 and odd.[6] The present Ma Hsieh-li-chi-ssŭ is his disciple. The worship towards the east is regarded as the principal thing in the religion. It is not the same as the Indian religion of Nirvana. The fact is that the sun rises in the east, the four seasons begin in the east, all things are born in the east. The east comes under wood and presides over birth. Thus, chaos having been parted, that which causes heaven and earth to be without rest, that which causes sun and moon to be carried on their way, that which causes the human race to increase and multiply, is the principle of continuous reproduction. Therefore they call it the ever-creative God.[7] The figure-of-ten (the Cross) is an image of the human body. They set it up in their houses, paint it in their churches, wear it on their heads, hang it on their breasts. They consider it as an indicator of the four quarters, the zenith and nadir.[8] Hsieh-mi-ssŭ-hsien is the name of a place; yeh-li-k'o-wên is the name of a religion. His Excellency's grandfather K'o-li-chi-ssŭ (George), his father Mieh-li (Mares?), and his maternal grandfather Ch'ê-pi were court physicians. When the emperor T'ai Tsu first took their country, the Crown Prince, Yeh-k'o-na-yen,[9] fell ill. His Excellency's maternal grandfather administered sherbet and the Ma-li Ha-hsi-ya and novices prayed, whereupon the prince recovered. He was appointed Imperial shê-li-pa-ch'ih[10] and *tarkhan* of the yeh-li-k'o-wên of his native place. In the fifth Chih-yüan year (1268) the emperor Shih Tsu (Kubilai) ordered his Excellency to come post haste to present sherbet, and rewarded him very liberally. Sherbet is made of a quantity of fragrant fruits boiled and mixed with honey. Shê-li-pa-ch'ih is the name of an office. His Excellency had the hereditary skill in the method [of making sherbet]; and moreover there is proof [of this]. The emperor specially bestowed [on him] a gold tablet that he might devote himself to the office. In the ninth year (1272) he went with the p'ing-chang Sai-tien-ch'ih[11] to Yün-nan; in the twelfth year (1275) he went to Min-chê;[12]—in each case for the purpose of making sherbet. In the fourteenth year (1277) he was appointed assistant *darugha* of the central administration of Chên-chiang fu, receiving a tiger badge and the title of Huai-yüan ta-chiang-chün.[13] Though raised to splendour and prominence he held all the more closely to his religion and was constantly devoted to the propagation of the faith. One evening in a dream seven gates were opened in heaven and two angels addressed him saying : You must raise seven monasteries; and presented him with a white thing as a token. When he awoke he felt inspired, and then he resigned office and devoted himself to building the monasteries. First at the T'ieh-wêng gate he gave up his house and built the Pa-shih hu-mu-la or Ta-hsing-kuo Monastery. Next he obtained the Shu-t'u hill at Hsi-ching and built together the Ta-shih hu-[mu-]la or Yün-shan Monastery and the Tu-ta-wu-êrh hu-mu-la or Chü-ming-shan Monastery. Below the two monasteries he founded a free cemetery for the yeh-li-k'o-wên. Again at K'ai-sha in the district of Tan-t'u he built the Ta-lei hu-mu-la or Ssŭ-tu-an Monastery. On the Huang hill outside the Têng-yün gate he built the Ti-lien-hai-ya hu-mu-la or Kao-an Monastery. By the side of the Ta-hsing-kuo Monastery he built also the Ma-li Chieh-wa-li-chi-ssŭ hu-mu-la or Kan-ch'üan Monastery. In Hang-chou at the Chien-ch'iao gate he built the Yang-i hu-mu-la or Ta-p'u-hsing Monastery. These seven monasteries were truly the outcome of his Excellency's zeal. He was loyal to the sovereign and devoted to the empire, not seeking to make himself conspicuous but only making his monasteries so. The Ch'êng-hsiang Wan-tsê presented a memorial stating that his Excellency had of the goodness of his heart built seven monasteries,[14] and obtained a letter of protection under the

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[3] Samarqand. For the Chinese form see Guy Le Strange, *Clavijo*, 1928, p. 287, " Samarqand : for this name would be more exactly written Semíz-kent." cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 1910, vol. I. p. 76.

[4] About 30000 miles. It is probably a slip for *one* myriad *li* or 3000 miles.

[5] Marco Polo also tells this story, placing the church in Samarqand. cf. *Il Milione* c. lii, and esp. p. 41 : la colonne qe estoit sor la pieres por la uoluntes dou nostre seingnor ieçucrit se hoste de la pieres & se fait en aut bien trois paumes & se sostenoit ausi bien con ce la pieres hi fust sout. & toutes foies de celui ior auant est ausi demore celle collune & encore est elle ensint.

[6] The words would naturally mean " worked miracles for more than 1500 years", or possibly " worked miracles more than 1500 years ago", and the version given above cannot be regarded as certain. But Yeh-li-ya is Elijah and not, as Palladius tried to think, Jesus; and there was a Patriarch Mar Elijah who died in April, 1501 (A.D. 1190), and Samarqand was a Metropolitan see and there may have been a Bishop Elijah in the 13th century. Marco Polo dates the miracle about A.D. 1243, and it seems at least possible that the story told to Liang Hsiang (who is not likely to have been familiar with the Greek, Christian, or Moslem eras) was intended to give the date, but was not perfectly understood by him.

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[7] *ch'ang shêng t'ien*, which is also the regular version of the Mongol *möngkä tängri*, eternal Heaven. cf. CHAVANNES, "Inscriptions et pièces, etc.", in *T'oung-pao*, 1904, 1908, *passim*. For worship towards the east, cf. p. 37 above; *Var. Sin.* 7. p. xxviii, 20. p. 55; and J. WORDSWORTH, *The Ministry of Grace*, p. 44, "The first rule [of the *Edessene Canons*] is 'Pray ye towards the East'." "*The east comes under wood*": The Chinese classify things in corresponding categories: East, Spring, Wood, Blue, Jupiter; West, Autumn, Metal, White, Venus; and so on.

[8] Here, as on the Christian Monument (cf. pp. 35, 37; but contrast pp. 62, 64), the Cross is made much of, but not the crucifixion of our Lord. William of Rubruck notices this peculiarity of the Nestorians in several places. He says for instance: "The *Nestorians* & the *Armenians* do neuer make the figure of *Christ* vpon their crosses. Wherfore either they seem not to think wel of his passion, or els they are ashamed of it." (HAKLUYT's *Principal Navigations*, vol. I. p. 106.)

[9] T'ai Tsu or Chingis captured Bukhara and Samarqand in the summer of 1220 or spring of 1221. cf. *Yüan shih* c. 1 fol. 8v°. Yeh-k'o-na-yen or "great commander" was, as Professor PELLIOT tells me, a common Mongol title of Chingis's son Tului.

[10] Professor PELLIOT has identified ha-hsi-ya with the Syriac ܚܣܝܐ *hasia* or "saint" which is said to have been the proper title of a bishop. cf. *Yüan shih* c. 89 fol. 15v°. Shê-li-pa or shê-li-pieh is *sherbet*. Names of offices, employments, or trades are formed by the addition of *chi* in Mongolian, so that shê-li-pa-ch'ih is like *sherbeter*, a maker or purveyor of sherbet. cf. CHAVANNES, *T'oung-pao*, 1904, p. 389(1).

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[11] Sayyid Ajal Shams u'd Din Omar. This famous servant of the Mongol kaan was born in 1210. After holding many distinguished posts he was sent to Yün-nan, where his name is still honoured, in 1274 (not 1272) and died there in 1279. cf. A. VISSIÈRE, *Études Sino-Mahométanes*, 1e série, 1911; *Yüan shih* c. 125. P'ing-chang-chêng-shih was the fourth title among the metropolitan Ministers and the second in the provincial governments. The Sayyid Ajal had been metropolitan p'ing-chang-chêng-shih from 1261 to 1264. cf. *Yüan shih* cc. 85, 92, 112.

[12] The provinces, roughly speaking, of Fu-chien and Chê-chiang.

[13] There is some difficulty as will be seen again below in determining the precise position which Mar Sargis held at Chên-chiang and the dates at which he held it. The government of a circuit (*lu*) was called Tsung-kuan fu and the officers were: one *Darugha* (ta-lu-hua-ch'ih), one Tsung-kuan and Superintendent of Agriculture, one T'ung-chih, one Chih-chung (for 1st class circuits only), one P'an-kuan, etc. cf. *Yüan shih* c. 91 fol. 6v°. The staff (which was however formally so constituted only in 1283) does not include an *assistant darugha*, nor have I noticed the title in any of the civil territorial administrations in the *Yüan shih*. The addition of an *assistant darugha* to the staff is recorded in the *Yüan tien chang* c. 15 fol. 8v° in 1317; but still the list of the staff at the beginning of the same chapter does not include the title. It was a common enough military title, and appears as the third rank in several non-territorial Tsung-kuan-fu (e.g. *Yüan shih* c. 85 fol. 14r°). Chên-chiang was a circuit of the 2nd class (*hsia lu*) as having a population of less than 100000 families. cf. *Yüan shih* cc. 62 fol. 3r° (where however the population is given as 103315 families), 91 fol. 6v°. In *CSCCC* c. 3 fol. 16–25 the population amounts to 114218 families.

The system of granting ranks and titles was very elaborate. Government officials were classed in 9 *ranks* (*p'in*), each *rank* being divided into an upper (*chêng*) and lower (*ts'ung*) grade. Each grade of each rank (except the lowest) carried with it a varying number of graduated *titles*, and these again were divided into civil (*wên*) and military (*wu*). With the *title* went the appropriate robe and badge (tiger tablet, gold tablet, etc.). The badges or tablets were tallies made in two halves. cf. YULE-CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, I. pp. 350–

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353 and plates; *Kuo hsüeh ts'ung k'an* Nos. 1 and 3, 1911. Huai-yüan ta-chiang-chün was the 12th military *title*, the lowest of the 3 attached to the lower *grade* of the 3rd *rank*; the rank and grade to which the *darugha* (not assistant) and tsung-kuan of a second-class circuit were entitled. cf. *Yüan shih* cc. 83 fol. 3v°, 91 fol. 8–10.

[14] Ch'êng-hsiang was the highest position in a provincial government and the 2nd or 3rd in the Metropolitan. One Wan-tsê (Öljai ?) was Metropolitan Right Ch'êng-hsiang from 1291 till his death in May, 1303. cf. *Yüan shih* cc. 112 fol. 7v°, 130 fol. 6. *Hu-mu-la* is the Syriac ܥܘܡܪܐ *'umra*, a monastery, but the names have not been identified with great success. The sixth is probably Mar Giwargis (George), and the seventh possibly New Monastery; for Pa-shih and Ta-shih, *bāshi* " Head " and *tāsh* " Stone " have been suggested.

imperial seal. An immediate grant was made of thirty *ch'ing* (about 500 acres) of government arable land in Chiang-nan, and thirty-four *ch'ing* of privately owned arable land in Chê-hsi[15] were bought in addition for the perpetual maintenance of the seven monasteries. His Excellency held office in Chên-chiang for five years.[16] In raising continuously all this masons' and carpenters' labour he did not oppress any members of the common people in the very least degree. Those who took the vows were all yeh-li-k'o-wên. He ceremoniously invited the Ma-li ha-hsi-ya Ma-êrh Shih-li-ho pi-ssŭ-hu-pà of the land of Buddha,[17] who expounded the secrets of the religion and reverently deposited the scriptures, and then the chapels of the seven monasteries were quite complete. Moreover he commanded his sons and grandsons to maintain them down the stream of time. Sherbet was an hereditary business to be carefully fostered, and must not decay. These precepts and instructions were designed to secure a perpetual inheritance and succession, and are a further illustration of his Excellency's thoughtfulness. So I have brought together what I heard to form a record.

The Kan-ch'üan Monastery is by the side of the Ta-hsing-kuo Monastery.

The Ta-kuang-ming Monastery is south of the Tan-yang post-house. An-ma-chi-ssŭ built it in the first Yüan-chêng year (1295).[18]

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[15] Chiang-nan and Chê-hsi formed one circuit (*tao*) which included a great part of the modern provinces of Chiang-su and Chê-chiang.

[16] At the time it was possible to hold office for from thirty to sixty months. In 1291 the maximum term was fixed at 3 years (cf. *Yüan shih* c. 83 fol. 4r°), but it does not seem to have been very strictly enforced.

[17] *Yeh-li-k'o-wên* here as throughout the *CSCCC* is quite as much a national as a religious designation. The monks were, it means to say, all foreigners. And in all the long period of 15 centuries with which we are dealing there are only two, or at most three, passages so far as I know, which show the existence of Chinese Christians; and they are not references of which the Chinese church has reason to be proud. We have had ha-hsi-ya above. Shih-li or, as PELLIOT suggests, Shih-li-ho seems to be a proper name, and (ho-)pi-ssŭ-hu-pa is obviously "bishop". "land of Buddha" must mean, vaguely, the West.

[18] *CSCCC* c. 9 fol. 8v°–9v°. The heading of the chapter is *Sêng ssŭ*, "(Buddhist) Monasteries", and of the section *Pên fu*, that is Chên-chiang city. The Histories or Topographies (*chih*) which form

2. Tan-t'u District.

The Lung-yu Monastery is on the Chin Hill. The old name was Tsê-hsin. It is not known at what time it was founded: Some say that it was founded in Chien-wu (317) of the Chin dynasty. Wu Ti (502–549) of the Liang dynasty once visited the monastery and instituted the Shui-lu Congress.[19] The *Kao sêng chuan* of the Liang dynasty says that Wu Ti visited the Tsê-hsin Monastery and instituted the Shui-lu Congress in the fourth T'ien-chien year (505). . . . In the reign of Chên Tsung (998–1022) of the Sung the monastery was granted the name of Lung-yu Monastery of Contemplation. In the reigning dynasty in the year *chi-yu* of Chih-ta (1309) the monk Ying-shên took charge of it by command of the emperor, and was granted together the two convents which Ma Hsieh-li-chi-ssŭ had taken possession of east and west of Yin Hill. And a special imperial messenger was sent to restore the great Shui-lu Congress according to the fashion of the Liang dynasty.[20]

3. The Ssŭ-tu-an Monastery is at K'ai-sha. Ma Hsieh-li-chi-ssŭ assistant *darugha* of this circuit built it.

The Ta-fa-hsing Monastery is on the Fu-t'ien Hill out-

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so large and important a part of Chinese literature are not at all what we mean by histories in the West, but rather annotated inventories of the public buildings, temples, antiquities, streets, rivers, bridges, famous men, industries, natural products, etc., of a place. It will be understood that while such books are of the greatest value for the purpose of research, they do not provide good consecutive reading; and this must be the excuse for the disjointed nature of this and other chapters which are derived direct from such books.

The Ta-kuang-ming was not one of the seven, and there is nothing but the name of the founder even to suggest that it was Christian, while Kuang-ming, "light", is at least as suggestive of Manichees as it is of Christians.

[19] For this religious fast lasting seven days and nights which was revived in 1314 and 1315 after having been in abeyance for 800 years, see *T'oung-pao*, 1915, p. 640.

[20] *CSCĆC* c. 9 fol. 9v°, 12v°. The latter part of this passage is said to be taken from an inscription by Yü Chi. The hill is said to have been called Chin or Gold ("Golden Island") by the emperor Hsüan Tsung in the 8th century. A different date for the handing over of the Christian monasteries to the Buddhists is given below. I believe the Buddhist monastery still exists.

side the T'ung-wu gate. This is also a yeh-li-k'o-wên monastery.[21]

4. The Pan-jo (Prajna) Convent is on the top of the Shu-t'u Hill. In the sixteenth Chih-yüan year (1279) Ma Hsieh-li-chi-ssŭ assistant *darugha* of this circuit built two monasteries on land belonging to Chin-shan [Monastery]; one called Yün-shan Monastery and one called Chü-ming-shan Monastery. In the fourth Chih-ta year (1311) they were changed into a convent dependent on Chin-shan [Monastery] and given the present name. Chao Mêng-fu, vice-president of the Chi-hsien yüan,[22] received a special command to compose an inscription for a stone tablet. The substance of it was as follows: In the year of the emperor's accession the fifth month and the *chia-shên* day (31 May, 1311) an order under the Imperial seal was made to send P'o-lü, judge on the Hsüan-chêng yüan, and the Minister Ta-shih T'ieh-mu-êrh, councillor in the Tu kung-tê-shih-ssŭ, to ride post haste to inform the provincial government of Chiang-chê têng ch'u and say, The yeh-li-k'o-wên have taken it upon themselves to build Monasteries of the Cross on land belonging to Chin-shan [Monastery]; let the crosses be torn down and destroyed. The artist Liu Kao, who formerly did the painting and modelling for the Pai-t'a Monastery, is ordered to go and put in their stead on the walls of the chapels and rooms of the monasteries paintings and figures of Buddhas and Bodhisatvas, devas and dragons. The officials are to prepare and supply whatever he needs to

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[21] *CSCCC* c. 9 fol. 18r°. The Ta-fa-hsing is not one of the seven, and the mention of it here is the only scrap of certain evidence of Christian activity at Chên-chiang beyond Mar Sargis's original effort. Four of the seven monasteries (including the Ta-fa-hsing) in or near the city are recorded as to all appearance still existing in 1333, and of the remaining three only the two on the Shu-t'u Hill are known to have been given to the Buddhists before that date.

[22] Chao Mêng-fu (also known as Tzŭ-ang) was a member of the Sung imperial family and one of the most famous painters and calligraphists of his day. cf. *Yüan shih* c. 172 fol. 2–4. Some of his paintings may now be seen in European collections. The Chi-hsien yüan was a Board for the control of the affairs of Taoist priests, exorcists, etc. The Hsüan-chêng yüan mentioned just below had similar charge of Buddhist affairs. cf. *Yüan shih* c. 87 fol. 31°, 41°. I have failed to find the *exact* title of Ta-shih T'ieh-mu-êrh (*t'ung chih tu kung tê shih ssŭ*) in the books of reference.

use; that [the monasteries] may revert to Chin-shan. On the *kêng-ch'ên* day (27 May)[23] another charter with the Imperial seal was sent down for the protection of Chin-shan, that the yeh-li-k'o-wên and their descendants should not dispute [the matter]; and those who raise a dispute shall be severely punished. In the eleventh month and the *kêng-hsü* day (23 December) the minister Hai-yin-tu, president of the Tu Kung-tê-ssŭ, received a special communication from the Emperor: As for the Monasteries of the Cross which the heretic yeh-li-k'o-wên trusting in their strength built on the Chin-shan land, now that [the images] which they modelled have been torn down and destroyed, let new images of Buddha be made and the walls of the monasteries be painted afresh, that they may be regarded for ever as convents dependent on Chin-shan. And your servant Mêng-fu was ordered to write a composition and to set up a stone on Chin Hill to publish it for ever. Your servant Mêng-fu, devoid of eloquence, having respectfully saluted and bowed his head composed an inscription saying: With regard to Chin Hill I respectfully record that a monastery was first built there in Chien-wu (317, 318) of the Chin dynasty and named Tsê-hsin. In T'ien-chien (502–520) of the Liang dynasty the plan of the Shui-lu [Congress] was completed and a fast instituted at the monastery. In Ta-chung-hsiang-fu (1008–1017) of the Sung dynasty the name was changed to Lung-yu, and a grant was made of arable and hill land at Hsi-ching in Chiang-nan. In the reigning dynasty, in the sixteenth Chih-yüan year (1279) the yeh-li-k'o-wên Ma Hsieh-li-chi-ssŭ who held the office of *darugha* in the central administration of the circuit of Chên-chiang, built two monasteries of the Cross on the hill top at Hsi-ching and the arable lands belonging to Chin-shan [Monastery] were seized by the yeh-li-ko-wên. Now after twenty-seven years [Chin-shan] has again obtained the two monasteries[24] to be subordinate convents. Glory shines from three places, and the single peak standing in mid-stream is more firmly established than ever. And so I have made an ode, etc.

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[23] If we may suppose the accidental omission of "7th (or 9th) month" this date will be 26 July or 24 September. Nothing seems to be known of Liu Kao.

[24] There is some inconsistency about the dates. Chao Mêng-fu himself says that the monasteries were built in 1279 and given to Chin-shan in 1311, that is to say 33, rather than 27, years later. The

P'an Ang-hsiao,[25] vice-president of the Han-lin yüan, was also ordered to compose an inscription for a stone tablet. The substance is: Great is Buddha! There are not two Gates of the Law, just as in void space there is no such thing as going and coming. Innumerable spheres of activity reveal themselves in the fulfilment of fate, yet the Gate of the Law is one and one only. How can there possibly be two? Whatever beyond this is regarded as the Law is not what we Buddhists call the Law. The ancient and famous temple of Chin-shan stands up boldly in the midst of the stream of the great River, the most picturesque sight in the world! The hills of Chiang-nan coming from the south extend right up to the River. Steep and high they stand opposite, facing the peak in the midst of the stream, and the currents in their veins commingle. With beetling heights they bend their heads and watch the island as though they were standing sentinel over it. Now in the sixteenth Chih-yüan year (1279) the yeh-li-k'o-wên Ma Hsieh-li-chi-ssŭ, rendered exceedingly arrogant by his successive terms of office as governor of this region, selected the most beautiful site on the precipitous cliff and put up a building on the summit as a temple for his foreign religion, called Yin-shan Monastery, and laid out the waste land as a burying place for those of his sect. Alas! the sects of the West are ninety and six; but our Buddhism

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topographer states that the Ta-hsing-kuo Monastery was built in 1281. Liang Hsiang's words might be taken to mean that no building was done until 1282, if Mar Sargis held office for 5 years from 1277 and resigned before he began to build; but by ordinary Chinese reckoning this statement also would point to 1281. We have two statements (which however probably represent one authority) that these disputed monasteries were built in 1279, statements on the whole supported by the fact that Mar Sargis resigned his post as *darugha* in August, 1278 (p. 156 below), while we have at present no independent evidence to tell us how long he held the post of *assistant darugha*. The fact that Chao Mêng-fu calls Mar Sargis *darugha* is a further slight indication that it was his resignation of that higher office which preceded the building. We have also two dates, 1309 and 1311, for the handing over of the monasteries to the Buddhists.

[25] P'an Ang-hsiao is known as the author of the *Chin shih li*, etc. cf. WYLIE, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, 1901, p. 246.

alone is the true religion. In view of the truth of our religion can a false or foreign faith be tolerated? The present Emperor when he came to the throne ordered P'o-lü and other members of the Hsüan-chêng yüan to cast out the old images from the monasteries and to copy the Indian figures [26] of the temples at the metropolis with vermilion and gold, purple and blue, all new and bright; and to hand over the buildings to the Chin-shan superior, the elder Fo-hai Ying-shêng, granting the name of Pan-jo Convent of Meditation dependent on the Chin-shan Monastery. May the whole district raise its voice to celebrate with one accord this return to the true faith! Your servant Li Pang-ning, president of the Chi-hsien yüan, presented a petition that an inscription should be engraved on hard serpentine to make this known for ever. Your servant Tan-ya-ta-ssŭ, Minister of the Han-lin yüan charged with the receipt of edicts, received the rescript. Your servant Ang-hsiao was the writer; and so forth.[27]

5. Shê-li-pieh (sherbet): forty jars. Ma Hsieh-li-chi-ssŭ, late assistant *darugha* of this circuit, made it by boiling a preparation of grapes, quinces, oranges, and such like things; and was granted boats and horses to send it up as tribute.[28]

6. Central Administration of the Circuit of Chên-chiang fu. In the twelfth month of the thirteenth Chih-yüan year (January, 1277) the Chiang-yin Chên-chiang an-fu-shih-ssŭ was changed to Chên-chiang-fu lu tsung-kuan[-fu].

[List of] *Darugha* (Ta-lu-hua-ch'ih):

HSI-LA-HAN: a Mongol . . .; he arrived on the first day of the second month of the thirteenth Chih-yüan year (17

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[26] There was a special department of the Board of Works (Kung pu) to supervise the painting and carving of Buddhist images. It was founded in 1275 and called Fan hsiang chü or *Indian images office* and was raised in status in 1316. cf. *Yüan shih* c. 85 fol. 13v°.

[27] *CSCCC* c. 9 fol. 24r°–25r°; chapter, *Buddhist Monasteries*: *Yüan* (*Convents*): section, *Tan-t'u hsien*. Tan-ya-ta-ssŭ seems to have been one of the Presidents of the Han-lin College, though his exact title is not given in the *Yüan shih* c. 87 fol. 2r°. cf., however, *Yüan tien chang* c. 7 fol. 3v°.

[28] *CSCCC* c. 6 fol. 21r°; chapter, *T'u kung* (*Local articles of tribute*): section, *Chin kung* (*Present articles of tribute*). Elsewhere, as will be noticed, sherbet is generally written shê-li-pa.

February, 1276); on the next day he left his appointment and went north.

YEN CHUNG-CHIEH: a native of Tung-p'ing . . . ; he arrived in the third month of the fourteenth year (April, 1277); on the seventeenth day of the fifth month of the fifteenth year (8 June, 1278) he was transferred to the charge of the Chê-tung tao hsüan-wei-shih-ssŭ.

MA HSIEH-LI-CHI-SSŬ: a yeh-li-k'o-wên man, tiger tablet, huai-yüan ta-chiang-chün; he arrived on the twenty-fifth day of the first month of the fifteenth Chih-yüan year (18 February, 1278); on the first day of the eighth month (20 August) he was granted a gold tablet and transferred to the appointment of assistant *darugha* with the title of ming-wei chiang-chün.

CHANG CHAO: styled Yen-ming, a native of Chang-tê, t'ai-chung tai-fu; he arrived on the ninth day of the eleventh month of the fifteenth Chih-yüan year (24 November, 1278); on the third day of the fifth month of the sixteenth year (13 June, 1279) he resigned office on account of disease of the foot.[29]

[29] *CSCCC* c. 15 fol. 5v°, 6r°. For the various offices, ranks, etc. see notes on pp. 148, 149 above, and *Yüan shih* c. 91 fol. 2v°. Ming-wei chiang-chün was the 15th of the military titles and the lowest of the 3 titles attached to the upper grade of the fourth rank.

The dates in this whole passage appear to be open to question. Hsi-la-han is made to arrive and leave 11 months before his office had been constituted, where we may suspect that 2 in the number of the month is a slip for 12 (6 Jan., 1277); and Yen Chung-chieh is transferred to Chê-tung nearly four months after he had been succeeded by Mar Sargis. It is interesting to compare this account of Mar Sargis with Liang Hsiang's statements (p. 148 above). Liang says he was appointed in 1277; this account agrees with Marco Polo in saying 1278, giving the date of his *arrival*. Officials were allowed 30, 40, or 50 days in which to reach their posts after their appointment, according to the distance; and the rates of travel which were considered reasonable were 70 *li* a day on horseback, 40 *li* by carriage, 80 *li* a day by boat up stream, or 120 *li* down stream (*Yüan shih* c. 83 fol. 4v°; *Yüan tien chang* c. 10 fol. 10*r*°); and so it is possible that Mar Sargis was appointed in the 14th year and did not reach his post until 25 days into the 15th year. The fact that his term of office overlaps that of his predecessor is not easy to explain. Liang Hsiang gives him the higher titles (hu-fu, huai-yüan ta-chiang-chün) but the lower office (assistant *darugha*), and says that he resigned, and then that he governed Chên-chiang (*jên* Chên-chiang) for five years, the maximum term of office. It seems to be possible that he did resign soon after his appointment as *darugha* and was then allowed to

7. [List of] Tsung-kuan and Fu-yin:

An Chên-hêng: a yeh-li-k'o-wên man, chia-i tai-fu; he arrived on the second day of the seventh month of the twentieth Chih-yüan year (27 July, 1283), and was relieved on the twenty-eighth day of the second month of the twenty-third year (24 March, 1286).[30]

8. Central Administration of the Circuit of Chên-chiang. In the first month of the twenty-sixth Chih-yüan year. (February, 1289) the Chên-chiang-fu lu tsung-kuan-fu was changed to Chên-chiang lu tsung-kuan-fu.

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have a nominal appointment as *assistant darugha* with lower rank and titles. It has been shown above that an assistant *darugha* was not one of the regular staff of a territorial tsung-kuan-fu, and there is no list of assistant *darugha* in these chapters of *CSCCC*. According to the present account more than 3 months passed between Mar Sargis's resignation and his successor's arrival.

In a note to Palladius's translation (*Chinese Recorder*, 1875, p. 110) Wylie writes: "In an edition of the same work published in the middle of the last century there is a list of the governors of the Chin-keang foo Circuit. . . . The entry stands thus, [*Chinese text*],"—that is to say: Ma Hsieh-li-chi-ssŭ, tiger tablet, huai-yüan ta-chiang-chün; he held office in the fifteenth Chih-yüan year (1278). Wylie refers probably to the *Ch'ien lung chên chiang fu chih*.

Chang Chao has a biography in the *Yüan shih* c. 170 fol. 6r°, from which we learn that he was born in 1225 at Chi-nan. From 1260 onwards he held various posts in Shan-tung and other places and, after having assisted at the capture of Yang-chou and Chên-chiang, was made *darugha* of Yang-chou in 1276. He was transferred to the Chên-chiang circuit in 1279 and retired from office on account of illness. He was a great book collector and left 10000 volumes of his library of 80000 volumes to the college at Chi-nan. He died in 1288. The *Yang chou fu chih* (ed. 1810) c. 36 fol. 48v°, gives his name under the heading of Yang-chou lu tsung-kuan-fu, describing him as a Chi-nan man, appointed in the 13th year (1276) and moved to Chên-chiang in 1279. Thus we have two authorities for Chi-nan as Chang's birthplace instead of Chang-tê, and for 1279 as the date of his appointment to Chên-chiang instead of 1278. The *CSCCC* is however more nearly contemporary than either of the other two authorities.

In any case it seems clear that Mar Sargis did not hold his original post for many months, and for the rest we have no evidence to support either Marco Polo's 3 or Liang Hsiang's 5 years. It is to be noted that two of the first three governors of so important a place as Chên-chiang to be appointed by the Mongol government were native Chinese, if we may except the Mongol who stayed but one day.

[30] *CSCCC* c. 15 fol. 6r°. Chia-i tai-fu was the 17th civil title. The two offices tsung-kuan and fu-yin, the second on the staffs of the circuit (*lu*) and prefecture (*fu*) respectively, were apparently held by one man.

[List of] *Darugha* (Ta-lu-hua-ch'ih) and Ministers for the Promotion of Agriculture in the Interior :

K'UO-LI-CHI-SSŬ : a yeh-li-k'o-wên man, shao-chung tai-fu ; he arrived on the sixth day of the eighth month of the first Chih-ta year (22 August, 1308) and was relieved on the ninth day of the twelfth month of the first Huang-ch'ing year (6 January, 1313).

T'AI-P'ING : a yeh-li-k'o-wên man, chia-i tai-fu ; he arrived on the ninth day of the twelfth month of the first Huang-ch'ing year (6 January, 1313) and was relieved on the second day of the eleventh month of the third Yen-yu year (17 November, 1316). The gentry and people set up a monument to express their regret at his departure, with an inscription composed by Ch'ing-yang I, a native of the place, . . . The monument is by the side of the post road in front of the Tan-yang Hostelry.[31]

9. Tsai-êrh (Subordinate Officials) : . . .

Tan-t'u District : . . .

Yüan [dynasty] : [List of] *Darugha* :

MA AO-LA-HAN : a yeh-li-k'o-wên man, chung-i chiao-wei ; he arrived in the sixth month of the second Yüan-chêng year (July, 1296) . . .

WO-LO-SSŬ : a yeh-li-k'o-wên man, ch'êng-wu-lang ; he arrived in the eighth month of the second T'ien-li year (September, 1329).[32]

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[31] *CSCCC* c. 15 fol. 6v°–7v°. cf. *K'ang hsi chên chiang chih* c. 33 (in *Yüan yeh li k'o wên k'ao* fol. 6r°). This list of *darugha* contains 15 names, of which 9 are Uigurs (Wei-wu-êrh), 3 Moslems (Hui-hui), 2 Christians (Yeh-li-k'o-wên), and 1 a Kankali (K'ang-li) ; none in this case are Chinese. In c. 13 fol. 12, under the heading of *Chih so* (Government Offices), we read that K'uo-li-chi-ssŭ and others repaired the building called Ch'êng-hsüan t'ang in January, 1312. The building was in the Office of the Tsung-kuan-fu on the Pei-ku Hill, the cliff at the north-east corner of the city, still so called. The inscription about T'ai-p'ing which I have not thought it necessary to translate speaks of the satisfaction which he had given by correcting an unjust system of taxation which had been in force. The text will be found in *T'oung-pao*, 1915, pp. 681, 682. Either this monument or, more probably, Liang Hsiang's inscription at the Ta-hsing-kuo Monastery was still to be seen "at the foot of the Pei-ku Hill" at the end of the 19th century. cf. HUNG Chün, *Yüan shih i wên chêng pu* c. 29 (in *Yüan yeh li k'o wên k'ao* fol. 1r°). My efforts to obtain rubbings or fuller information have been in vain.

[32] *CSCCC* c. 16 fol. 1r°–5r°. cf. *K'ang hsi chên chiang chih* c. 25 (in *Yüan yeh li k'o wên k'ao* fol. 6r°). The titles are respectively the

10. AN MA-LI-HU-SSŬ: a yeh-li-k'o-wên man, living at Chên-chiang, chung-hsien tai-fu, t'ung-chih of the Hsüan-wei-shih-ssŭ of Kuang-tung circuit and assistant tu-yüan-shuai.

YEH-LI-YA: son of An Ma-li-hu-ssŭ, chung-i chiao-wei in consideration of his father's merit and *darugha* of Ta-yü district in the circuit of Nan-an; now chao-hsin chiao-wei, t'ung-chih of the sub-prefecture of Liu-yang in the circuit of T'an-chou. . . .

T'A-HAI: a yeh-li-k'o-wên man who lived at Ching-k'ou, chêng-i tai-fu, t'ung-chih of the Hsüan-wei-shih-ssŭ of Kuang-tung circuit and assistant tu-yüan-shuai; deceased.[33]

11. K'UO-LI-CHI-SSŬ: a yeh-li-k'o-wên man. Early in Chih-ta (1308–1311) he was shao-chung tai-fu and *darugha* of the central administration of the circuit of Chên-chiang, and subsequently lived here.

LU-HO: son of K'uo-li-chi-ssŭ, ch'ao-lieh tai-fu and *darugha* of the sub-prefecture of Chien-yang in the circuit of T'an-chou. . . .

28th military title and the 34th civil title. The first name (the exact form of which, without Ma, has been found by PELLIOT in *Yüan tien chang* c. 36 fol. 36v°., cf. p. 224) may be Abraham Ma. We find Abraham elsewhere in the forms Lo-han (*Var. Sin.* 7. p. L.) P'u-lo-hêng (*Chu fan chih*, 1914, c. 1 fol. 31r°; *Chau Ju-kua* p. 144) and A-wu-lo-han or Lo-han (*Var. Sin.* 17. pp. 36, 58, 63). Wo-lo-ssŭ was one of the ways in which Russ (Russian) was written; but it also appears as a proper name, *e.g.* in the *Yüan shih* c. 132 fol. 1v° and c. 134.

In this same list of *darugha* is "T'a-hai: an A-la-wên man." PALLADIUS (in *JNCBRAS*, 1876, p. 24) suggests that A-la-wên may be Marco Polo's *argon*; or it may possibly be another form of the word for Christian. cf. *JA*, Oct.–déc. 1927, p. 265 (3).

[33] *CSCCC* c. 19 fol. 11v°. Ma-li-hu-ssŭ alone would be a fair transcript of Marcus. The prefix *An* has occurred twice before, pp. 150, 157. Yeh-li-ya has come above (p. 146) and is common in the *Yüan shih* (cc. 24, 32, 34, etc.). T'a-hai is not rare and the name is mentioned at Chên-chiang in 1308 in the *K'o hang jih chi* (in *Wu lin chang ku ts'ung pien*, v. 2.) fol. 1r°. The author of this diary tells us that when calling on a friend in Chên-chiang on 20 September, 1308, he was shown some pictures which were "the property of Mr. T'a-hai."

For the governments named see *Yüan shih* c. 91 fol. 2v°, 7v°; *T'oung-pao*, 1915, p. 652. Nan-an and Ta-yü in Chiang-hsi still bear the same names. Liu-yang is now a district (hsien), and T'an-chou is Ch'ang-sha in Hu-nan. Ching-k'ou is one of the old names of Chên-chiang (between the Three Kingdoms and the early Sung) and is one of the divisions of Chên-chiang fu in *Yü ti chi shêng* c. 7 fol. 1r°.

MA HSIEH-LI-CHI-SSŬ: a yeh-li-k'o-wen man. In the fifteenth Chih-yüan year (1278) he was appointed ming-wei chiang-chün and assistant *darugha* of the central administration of the circuit of Chên-chiang, and subsequently made his home there. He built seven monasteries; see the section on *Monasteries*; and every year he paid tribute in sherbet; see the section on *Local Articles of Tribute.*[34]

12. The house of the T'i-hsing Chao . was in the Chia-tao lane, and is now the Ta-hsing-kuo Monastery.[35]

13. The house of T'a-hai, assistant tu-yüan-shuai of Kuang-tung, was in the Chu-kan lane.

The house of Ma Hsieh-li-chi-ssŭ, assistant *darugha* of this circuit, was in the Chia-tao lane. . . . .

The house of K'uo-li-chi-ssŭ, *darugha* of this circuit, was in the . - . lane.[36]

14. Jun (*i.e.* Chên-chiang) is an important outpost in the south-east. Under the Chin, Sung, Sui, and T'ang dynasties though the land was large the people were few. By the time of Chia-ting in the Sung dynasty (1208–1224) there were only three districts which it included but yet the population was very large compared with that of former dynasties. When north and south were united in one this prefecture

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[34] *CSCCC* c. 19 fol. 12r°. The name Lu-ho (Luke) comes in *Yüan shih* c. 134 fol. 3v° as that of one of the sons of the Christian Ai-hsieh (cf. pp. 229, 233). T'an-chou (Ch'ang-sha) was officially called T'ien-lin when *CSCCC* was written, the name having been changed in 1329. cf. *Yüan shih* c. 63 fol. 3r°. Chien-yang seems to be a misprint, as no place of that name is given in *Yüan shih l.c.* or *Sung shih* c. 88 fol. 11v° or in the *Kuang yü t'u*. It should perhaps be Liu-yang (as just above) or possibly I-yang, but in either case it is to be observed that not only the first syllable but also *yang* is printed wrongly. The passages referred to in the sections on Monasteries and Tribute are of course those which have been translated above. In c. 4 fol. 17v°, under the heading P'u-t'ao (Grapes), it says: " The shê-li-pieh(sherbet) which this circuit now sends as tribute is made of these. For details see the section on *Local Articles of tribute.*"

[35] *CSCCC* c. 12 fol. 5r°. T'i-hsing was an officer under the Sung dynasty who seems to have had unusual powers of summary jurisdiction. cf. *Sung shih* c. 5 fol. 5v°, and *Hsü hui yao* (in *P'ei wên yün fu* s.v.). It is interesting to note that the first of the seven monasteries was still in existence in 1333. Mar Sargis had apparently bought Chao's house for his own use and afterwards converted it into a monastery.

[36] *CSCCC* c. 12 fol. 6r°. The name of the lane where K'uo-li-chi-ssŭ lived seems to have been illegible in the MS., as was also the personal name of Chao in 12. just above.

submitted indeed before [it was attacked]; the soldiers did not stain their swords with blood, and the markets were not interrupted; and so the numbers at the census of the people in *kêng-yin* of Chih-yüan (1290) were equal to those of the Chia-ting period. In the autumn of the *hsin-ch'ou* year of Ta-tê in the seventh month (August, 1301) there was a great storm which washed away the sandbanks. After that in the year *ting-wei* and again in *chi-ssŭ* of T'ien-li (1329) there was a visitation of plague. Numbers perished and numbers migrated elsewhere. Looking from the present at the past they are altogether unlike, but in recent years by births and immigration and careful fostering [the population] has gradually recovered its former aspect.

[Details of the census:]

NATIVES . . . [613800 individuals]

SETTLERS

Families: 3845 (City: 3399; Tan-t'u district: 299; Tan-yang district: 120 (*sic*); Chin-t'an district: 37):

- Mongols (Mêng-ku): 29 (City: 23; Tan-t'u: 1; Tan-yang: 3; Chin-t'an: 2).
- Uigurs (Wei-wu-êrh): 14 (City: 12; Tan-yang: 2).
- Moslems (Hui-hui): 59 (City: 49; Tan-t'u: 5; Tan-yang: 3; Chin-t'an: 2).
- Christians (Yeh-li-k'o-wên): 23 (City: 19; Tan-t'u: 3; Chin-t'an: 1).
- Tangutese (Ho-hsi): 3 (City: 1; Tan-t'u: 2).
- Khitai (Ch'i-tan): 21 (City: 19; Tan-t'u: 2).
- Nüchen (Nü-chih): 25 (all in the City).
- Northern Chinese (Han-jên): 3671 (City: 3251; Tan-t'u: 286; Tan-yang: 102; Chin-t'an: 32).

Members of Families: 10555 (City: 8978; Tan-t'u: 781; Tan-yang: 604; Chin-t'an: 192):

- Mongols: 163 (City: 125; Tan-t'u: 9; Tan-yang: 14; Chin-t'an: 15).
- Uigurs: 93 (City: 81; Tan-yang: 12).
- Moslems: 374 (City: 296; Tan-t'u: 31; Tan-yang: 40; Chin-t'an: 7).
- Christians: 106 (City: 92; Tan-t'u: 7; Chin-t'an: 7).

Tangutese: 35 (City: 19; Tan-t'u: 16).
Khitai: 116 (City: 104; Tan-t'u: 12).
Nüchen: 261 (all in the City).
Northern Chinese: 9407 (City: 7999; Tan-t'u: 706; Tan-yang: 539; Chin-t'an: 163).

Solitary Individuals: 2948 (City: 2720; Tan-t'u: 80; Tan-yang: 88; Chin-t'an: 60):

Mongols: 429 (City: 397; Tan-t'u: 6; Tan-yang: 17; Chin-t'an: 9).
Uigurs: 107 (all in the City).
Moslems: 310 (City: 279; Tan-t'u: 11; Tan-yang: 18; Chin-t'an: 2).
Christians: 109 (City: 102; Chin-t'an: 7).
Tangutese: 19 (City: 10; Tan-t'u: 9).
Khitai: 75 (City: 68; Tan-t'u: 7).
Nüchen: 224 (all in the City).
Northern Chinese: 1675 (City: 1533; Tan-t'u: 47; Tan-yang: 53; Chin-t'an: 42).[37]

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[37] *CSCCC* c. 3 fol. 14, 19v°, 20r°, 21, 22r°. Of this interesting census only the preface and section dealing with Settlers have been translated in detail, and even here the 12 sub-divisions of the Northern Chinese have been omitted. The whole census is given below in condensed tabular form, both as it was printed (after drastic emendation) in 1842 and as it seems to have been in the manuscript. For explanation of the many points of interest and difficulty I must refer to the notes in *T'oung-pao*, 1915, pp. 656–660, 686. But it will be observed that the Christians and other foreigners are all classed as Settlers or permanent residents with fixed occupations as distinguished from Sojourners or temporary visitors. The definition of the "Northern Chinese" is not without difficulties. CH'IEN Ta-hsin of the 18th century is quoted as saying that the boundary between the Northern Chinese (*Han jên*) and the Southerners (*Nan jên*) was the boundary between the domains of the Chin and the Sung in the 12th and 13th centuries, corresponding to Marco POLO's Cathay and Mangi, and followed in the eastern portion the river Huai. It is specially interesting to compare the proportion of foreigners to Chinese with the statements of Marco POLO and ODORIC. At Chên-chiang there were 114206 families (*hu*) of which 174 were foreign, and about 670000 individuals (*k'ou* and *ch'ü*) of which 2421 were foreigners. This makes the foreign families about 1·5 per thousand of the total and the individuals about 3·6 per thousand. Marco POLO gives the population of Quinsai (Hang-chou) as 1600000 fires (*hu*) and ODORIC as 890000 fires of which 40000 were Saracen. ODORIC, whose informant was probably a foreigner, thus makes the Saracens alone 4·7 per cent. of the total population instead of 3·6 (or 1·5) per thousand, as all foreigners together were at Chên-chiang. Exaggerations of the population of Hang-chou comparable to those

Notes on the Places named :

The positions of most of the places mentioned in the above extracts will be found on the map. The map is copied from

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of Marco Polo and Odoric may be found in popular Chinese books of that date, but the official *Lin an chih*, c. 1274 (just before the inroad of foreigners), c. 58 fol. 3r°, gives *Families* : 391259; *Individuals* : 1240760.

Tan-t'u, Tan-yang, and Chin-t'an were the 3 districts comprised in the circuit of Chên-chiang.

Census of the Circuit of Chên-chiang A.D. 1331
(as printed A.D. 1842)

	Families (*hu*).	*Members of Families* (*k'ou*).	*Solitary Individuals* (*ch'ü*).
Natives . . .	100065	613578	222
Settlers . . .	3845	10555	2948
Sojourners . . .	5753	? (missing)	1241
Paupers . . .	4092	11477	16
Buddhist monks . .	310	2403	
Taoist monks . .	141	570	
Totals . . .	114206	? about 670000	4427

Census of the Circuit of Chên-chiang A.D. 1331
(as it seems to have been in the manuscript found in 1795)

	Families (*hu*).	*Members of Families* (*k'ou*).	*Solitary Individuals* (*ch'ü*).	*Names* (*ming*).
Natives . .	100065	613578	222	5753
Settlers . .	3845	10555	2948	
Paupers . .	4104	11477		1241
Buddhist monks .	310	2403	16	
Taoist monks .	141	570		
Totals . .	108465	638583	3186	6994

the map of Chên-chiang in *Chiang su ch'üan shêng yü t'u*, a fine native survey of the province of Chiang-su kindly lent by my brother G. T. Moule, and I have tried to fit into it the places named in accordance with such scanty indications of position as are to be found. For detailed information on the walls and gates the reader is referred again to *T'oung-pao*, 1915, pp. 661–665, and the references there.

1. Chia-tao lane. It is not in the list of streets and lanes in *CSCCC*, though often mentioned in other parts of the book. It must have been near the Ch'ien-ch'iu bridge; though one place (c. 12 fol. 4v°) describes a house in this lane as inside the Tzŭ ch'êng, or inner city where the governor's residence was.

2. Chin shan, or Gold Hill. This is certainly the promontory known to foreigners as Golden Island, which has only ceased to be a real island within living memory. The original name was Fou-yü, " Floating Jade ", and it is said to have been changed to Chin, " Gold ", in the T'ang dynasty.

3. Chu-kan lane. This was near, if it did not actually lead to, the Ho-lin gate in the south-west of the city.

4. Fu-t'ien Hill (p. 151) has not been identified.

5. Hsi ching. This was formerly called the Suan shan ching, " Suan Hill Ferry ", and is just east of the Suan Hill at the mouth of the Grand Canal.

6. Huang Hill. Of this I have found no trace beyond what the text tells us, except the name Huang shan li (" Huang Hill alley ") in a list of places west of the Tan-t'u District magistrate's residence.

7. K'ai sha. This is one of six *sha* or habitable sand-flats in Tan-t'u (in one place in Tan-yang) district and 40 *li* (10 or 12 miles) from the city. The formation of such a sand-flat is described in *CSCCC* c. 20 fol. 5, 6, and the note ends, " When I was in Tan-t'u I heard that a sand-bank was going to form south of Chin shan. Who knows whether at some future time Chin shan may not be united again with Jun chou ? "

8. Shu-t'u Hill. This was an alternative name for Yin shan or Silver Hill (not to be confounded with the foreigners' Silver Island, which is properly called Chiao shan). It was

properly called T'u shan, or Earth (as opposed to rock) Hill. From *CSCCC* c. 7 fol. 1v° we gather that the name Yin or Silver had only been given after the Mongol occupation in 1276.

9. Tan-yang kuan. This was a government hostelry and posting house. It stood near and to the west of the Ch'ien-ch'iu bridge, with a canal on the north and a main street on the south. It was founded in 1144, and under the Mongol dynasty frequent additions were made to it so that the total number of rooms was 109. In the west wing were stables for 80 horses of which 40 were always kept ready saddled; and at the back was a covered landing place on the canal bank. There were 30 boats. cf. *CSCCC* c. 13 fol. 31.

10. Yün shan, or Cloud Hill. cf. No. 8 above. As the monastery was called Yün-shan or Yin-shan so perhaps the hill on which it stood may have been called alternatively Yin or Yün; but otherwise the name has not been found in the books. Nor, I think, is the Chü-ming Hill mentioned except in the name of the Chü-ming-shan Monastery.

CHAPTER VII

THE MISSION OF THE FRANCISCAN BROTHERS

Of the monuments of medieval missionary work very few can surpass in interest the letters written from China by John of Monte Corvino, Archbishop of Khan-baliq, and Andrew of Perugia, Bishop of Zaitun, early in the fourteenth century. These letters, together with most of what is known of the history of the mission of which the writers were members, are found in a manuscript Chronicle in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, which dates perhaps from 1337. The credit of first finding the letters seems to belong to Luke Wadding, the historian of the Franciscans, who was born at Waterford 16 October, 1588, and died 18 November, 1657; or to an unnamed friend of his.[1] From his transcript, which was printed in his *Annales Minorum*, tom. III., 1636, all subsequent texts, versions, or quotations seem to have been derived until 1913, when direct study of the manuscripts began again.

Of the life of John and his companions little is known. From his own letters we gather that John was born at

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[1] Wadding has the following entry in his *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*, 1650, p. 270: Odoricvs de Portv Naono, oppido Fori Julij, prouinciae S. Antonij, . . Scripsit *Historiam suae peregrinationis sexdecim annorum. Librum de mirabilibus mundi. Chronica compendiosa à mundi exordio ad finem fermè Pontificatus Ioannis XXII.* quo tempore ipse decessit. Accepi ab amico M.S. & ex ijs plurima in rem nostram decerpsi. *Sermones diuersos. Epistolas multas.* Obijt anno 1331. die 14. Ianuarij in vrbe Vtinensi sepultus apud suos consodales.

The *Chronica compendiosa* is the book in question, though it is not quite certain that the Paris MS. is the actual copy used by Wadding's friend. His persistent attribution of the book to Odoric cannot be accepted. The authorship is assigned with more probability by Golubovich to Eleemosina of Assisi. A list of the manuscript and printed copies of the Latin text of the letters is given at the end of this chapter.

Monte Corvino in 1246 or 1247.[2] An obscure passage of John of Florence says that he began life as a "soldier, judge, and teacher of the Emperor Frederick" (who died in 1250 !) and then became "a most learned and well-informed Minor Friar." [3] We may at least infer from this that John's abilities and education were as far above the average as were his physical strength and character. About the year 1280 he was sent by Bonagratia, Minister General of his Order,[4] as a missionary to the East, where he seems to have lived for part at least of the time in Persia, and certainly did not then reach China. He returned with letters from Arghun in 1289 and was sent back immediately by the Pope, Nicholas IV.,[5] whose letters are dated 15 July, 1289.

Of the other members of the mission even less is known. In 1307 the Pope sent seven more Franciscan Brothers to act as suffragans to John after they had consecrated him Archbishop of Khan-baliq or Peking. Their names were "Gerardus, Peregrinus, Andreas de Perusio, Nicolaus de Bantra sive de Apulia, Minister Provinciae S. Francisci, Petrus de Castello, Andrutius de Assisio, Guillelmus de Franchya sive de Villa longa aut Villanova." [6] To these seven, of whom only Gerard, Peregrine, and Andrew seem to have reached China, and they not until 1313, three more were added later, namely Peter of Florence, made Bishop on 20 December, 1310, and Jerome and Thomas on 19 February, 1311.[7] What more is known of the missionaries is contained in their own letters and in the other contemporary documents which are here translated.[8]

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[2] Wadding knew of no evidence to decide between Monte Corvino near Salerno and Monte Corvino near Lucera in Apulia, but seems to have preferred the claim of Apulia. cf. *A.M.*, 2nd ed., IV. p. 345, V. p. 194, VI. p. 94. An. Van den Wyngaert, *Jean de Mont Corvin*, 1924, p. 7 n. 2, *SF* p. 345, cannot decide between the two Monte Corvino in Salerno. Montecorvino is marked at Motta and Pietra about 18 kil. W. of Lucera, and at a point 7·5 kil. W. of the same place, and 19 kil. E. of Salerno. cf. Italian Government Survey, 1883, fol. 163, 185.

[3] *Fontes Rerum Bohem.*, 1882, tom. III. p. 495 : qui primo miles, judex et doctor Friderici imperatoris post 72 annos factus frater Minor doctissimus et scientissimus. Wadding confidently identifies Monte Corvino with John who was sent by Michael Palaeologus to Gregory X. in 1272 (*A.M.* IV. p. 345), but Van den Wyngaert (*op. cit.* p. 7 n. 3) says that this is not proved.

[4] Bonagratia de S. Ioanne de Persiceto, elected Minister General at Whitsuntide, 1279, died at Avignon 3 Oct., 1283. cf. *A.M.*, V. pp. 72, 127; *BF*, III. pp. 191 (*c*), 417 (*a*), 501 (*b*).

[5] The first Franciscan Pope, crowned 25 Feb., 1288. cf., also, p. 110 above.

[6] *A.M.*, VI. pp. 92, 94. cf. *BF*, V. pp. 38, 39, where Ulricus takes the place of Petrus and Andrutius. Professor Pelliot points out to me that "frater Guillermus de villa Noua ordinis minorum

1. To Kubilai the great Khan, famous Prince of the Tartars, grace in the present time to lead to glory in the future.

We rejoice in the Lord, noble Prince, and give him devout and abundant thanks that he, in whose hand are the hearts of the princes of the Earth, preventing you, as we have heard with joy, with gentle piety by the gift of his grace has filled your inmost heart with such feelings that the desire of your mind is directed towards the enlarging of the boundaries of Christianity. For shortly after the beginning of our promotion we received in audience trustworthy messengers who had been sent by the magnificent Prince Arghun, famous king of the Tartars, who told us very plainly that your Magnificence bears a feeling of great love towards our person and the Roman Church and also towards the nation or people of the Latins. And the said messengers earnestly begged on behalf of the king that we should send some Latin monks to your court. But we, when we heard such pleasing and acceptable reports of so great and so sublime a Prince, rejoiced exceedingly in the Lord, sincerely desiring the increase of your health and the glory of your name and humbly beseeching the Father of Lights from

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episcopus . . . ad partes Tartarorum . . . cum nonnullis coepiscopis" received letters of introduction from Edward II, dated at Dover 22 May, 1313, to various rulers who include "Imperatori de Cathaym." cf. Patent Rolls, 6 Ed. II, pt. ii, membrane 1.: De conductu pro Episcopis Samaritanis predicare volentibus &c. No good explanation of the date and authorship of these letters has been suggested.

[7] *A.M.*, VI. pp. 467–469.

[8] The translations which follow are made direct from the manuscript chronicle which has been mentioned, prefaced, interspersed, and followed by extracts from Papal letters and bulls and from some other documents taken from other sources, the exact references being given in every case.

whom is every good gift and every perfect gift that he will lighten your heart, ever proceeding from good to better, with the gift of his inspiration and will sprinkle you with the dew of his grace to the praise and honour of his glorious Name. Wishing therefore to fulfil the king's desires in this respect and greatly longing that you may readily consent and be prepared and very eagerly agree to accept the Christian faith which the aforesaid Church holds and preserves; since without his help accompanying none is able to please the Most High; See, we have thought right that our beloved son brother John of Monte Corvino with his fellows of the Order of Minors, bearer of the present letter, should be sent to you, earnestly praying you to receive him and his aforesaid companions with kindness (to whose teaching we desire that you may cleave close, since it tells of things meet for salvation) and to grant them the help of your royal favour for the healthful work committed to them, which has in view the salvation of souls, that trusting in its protection they may be able to conduct themselves with more advantage and effect in the same, and that you may win from the Lord, who repays the least service with great rewards, the prize of eternal blessedness. Dated at Rieti, 3 Ides of July, in the second year (13 July, 1289).[9]

2. To Arghun, famous King of the Tartars, grace *etc.* . . . Our wellbeloved son brother John of Monte Corvino of the Order of Minors, the bearer of the present letter, who has come into our presence from the Eastern lands has made it plain to our Apostleship by his careful accounts that you . . . bear a feeling of great love towards us and the Roman Church and also towards other Churches of Christians. The said brother added too that your Mightiness had been good enough to show great kindness to him and to his companions while they stayed in your country pursuing the service of Christ. . . . Moreover, most excellent Prince, as in our other letter to your royal Magnificence we thought it right to intimate to you by our venerable brother Roban Barsamma, Bishop in the Eastern lands, and certain of your envoys who were sent to us, we who though unworthy

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[9] *A.M.*, V. pp. 196, 197; *Reg. Vat.* tom. 44. c. 55 fol. 314 r°.

are the vicar of Christ and successor of St. Peter the chief of the Apostles exceedingly wish and ardently desire that those whom the water of Baptism has not washed nor the Church of the Christian faith included may altogether forsake the pathless wanderings in which they stray with dangerous steps and be brought back to the right way and faithfully keep the aforesaid faith. . . . And in confidently sending back brother John, of whom you have had a foretaste, and his companions to your country to carry on the work of salvation which they have begun, we earnestly pray that you will accept our introduction and receive them kindly in reverence for God and from respect for the Apostolic See and for us, granting them the royal favour for the carrying on of such work . . .; and that you will keep some of them with you continually that they may put the word of God before you and your people and may be able to work for the salvation of souls. Dated at Rieti, Ides of July, in the second year (15 July, 1289).[10]

3. To the venerable Brother [Jabalaha], Patriarch of the Nestorians, health and Apostolic benediction. . . . We hope and most confidently think that you will gladly and thoroughly fulfil what we set before you, by diligently persuading the people who are subject to you to it, since our beloved son brother John of Monte Corvino of the Order of Minor Brothers, the bearer of this letter, has thought good to tell us concerning your zeal many good and laudable works of which we have heard with joy. Accept then with reverence the sincere exhortation and devoutly receive the salutary persuasion of the vicar of Christ that you may study so laudably to behave yourself to the honour and glory of the Creator of all things as to render yourself by increase of merit more pleasing in his sight. Moreover we urge you to accept our special introduction for the same brother and his companions and to treat them with kindness and favour that, fortified with such and so great protection, they may be able to conduct themselves in their ministry more profitably and conveniently, and more effectually to carry on the work of Jesus Christ to the praise

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[10] *A.M.*, V. pp. 195, 196; *Reg. Vat.* tom. 44. c. 54 fol. 313 r°.

of the divine Name. . . . Dated at Rieti, Ides of July, in the second year (15 July, 1289).[11]

4. Concerning a new church founded and planted in Tartary.

In the time likewise of this Pope Clement happy news and good tidings from Inner India and the kingdoms of the East came in the parts of the West and into Italy and filled the hearts of the Latins and the hearts of the Minor and Preaching Brothers, clergy and lay, of the princes and bishops, with joy and wonder.

For brother John of Monte Corvino of the Order of Minor Brothers, a devout imitator of the blessed Francis, stern and severe to himself and eloquent in teaching and preaching the word of God, supported with great authority and gracious privileges by lord Pope Nicholas IV, set out on his journey to preach to the infidels and entered the kingdom of the Persians. And after he had sojourned some time in the vast city of Tauris (Tabriz) with the Minor and Preaching Brothers who were dwelling there in one place preaching the faith of Christ to the heathen and baptizing, brother John himself stayed with them for many days. Thence he made his way into India. And his journey and holy work are described in this his letter which is as follows.[12]

5. The letter of brother John, legate of the Pope.

I brother John of Monte Corvino of the Order of Minor Brothers departed from Tauris a city of the Persians in the year of the Lord Mcclxxxxi and entered into India. And I was in the country of India and in the church of St. Thomas the Apostle thirteen months. And I baptized there about a hundred persons in different places. And the companion of my journey was brother Nicholas of Pistoia of the Order of Preaching Brothers, who died there and was buried in the same church. And I, proceeding further, came into Cathay, the realm of the Emperor of the Tartars who is called the great Kaan. With the letter of the lord Pope moreover I invited the Emperor himself to the catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he has grown too old in idolatry. But he bestows many kindnesses on the Christians, and it is now the twelfth year that I am with him.[13] The Nestorians indeed, who bear the Christian name but deviate very far from the Christian religion, have grown so powerful in these parts that they have not allowed any Christian of another rite to have however small a chapel nor to publish any other doctrine than the Nestorian. For to these lands there never came any Apostle or disciple of the Apostles. And so the aforesaid Nestorians, through themselves and through others bribed with money, have brought the gravest persecutions on me, declaring that I was not sent by the lord Pope but was a spy, magician, and deceiver of men. And after some interval of time they produced other false witnesses to say that another messenger had been sent bringing the emperor a very great treasure, and that I killed him in India and took away what he was carrying. And this intriguing lasted about five years, so that I was often dragged to the judgement seat with the ignominy [of threats] of death. At last by God's providence, through the confession of certain persons, the emperor came to know my innocence and the malice of the rivals and sent them with wives and children into exile.

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[11] CHABOT, *Hist. de Mar Jab. III.* pp. 218, 219; *Reg. Vat.* tom. 44. c. 48 fol. 312 r°. CHABOT copied the text from LANGLOIS, col. 391, No. 2218.

[12] *P* (*i.e.* Paris, Bib. Nat., ms. latin 5006) fol. 170*d*. Clement V was elected 5 June, 1305, crowned 14 November, 1305 (1306 is his *annus primus*), and died 20 April, 1314.

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[13] The chronology is not perfectly simple. John tells us that he left Tabriz in 1291. From Tabriz to Thana near Bombay was reckoned about 3 months journey (cf. *JRAS*, 1928, p. 362) and it may have been well into the year 1292 before he reached Mailapur ("the church of St. Thomas") on the east coast, where he spent 13 months. On 20 December, probably 1292 but possibly 1293, he wrote a letter "in mabar cittade della prouincia di sitia dellindia." Ships from the south and west reached Canton or Zaitun after the summer solstice, availing themselves of the south-west monsoon (cf. *Chau Ju-kua* p. 23), and it seems to be clear that John did not reach Khan-baliq until after the death of Kubilai on 18 February, 1294. He speaks of the emperor with whom he was living in 1305 as the one to whom he had presented his letters on his arrival. Less than two months is actually allowed by Chia Tan at the end of the 8th century for the voyage from Canton to Ceylon (cf. *T'ang shu* c. 43*b* fol. 16r°), but a later writer speaks of the custom of merchants breaking the voyage and going on by the next monsoon, *i.e.* a year later. In the 5th century Fa-hsien had been 200 days at sea between Ceylon and China, in addition to five months spent at Java (Yeh-p'o-t'i). cf. *Fo kuo chi* fol. 36–38; or French and English editions; and *Mem. Toyo Bunko* 2. pp. 64, 65. After landing at Zaitun John still had a journey of 3 months before he could reach the court (cf. p. 194 below). And even if he had landed at Zaitun in August, 1293, it would not have been surprising if delays had occurred to prevent him from reaching Khan-baliq before 18 February, 1294. When Kubilai died his successor Temur or Ch'êng Tsung was absent in the north. He reached Shang-tu on 28 April and was enthroned there on 10 May, but does not seem to have come to Khan-baliq until 21 October. cf. *Yüan shih* c. 18 fol. 1r°, 3v°. The words *iam est annus duodecimus* also point to 1294 as the year of John's arrival.

I indeed was alone in this pilgrimage without confession for eleven years, until Brother Arnold, a German of the province of Cologne, came to me it is now the second year. I have built a church in the city of Khan-baliq, where the chief residence of the king is, and I finished it six years ago; where also I made a bell-tower and put three bells there. I have also baptized there, as I reckon, up to today about six thousand persons. And if there had not been the above-named slanders I should have baptized more than thirty thousand; and I am often engaged in baptizing. Also I have bought one after another forty boys, the sons of pagans, of an age between seven and eleven years, who were as yet learning no religion. And I have baptized them and taught them Latin letters and our rite; and I have written for them thirty Psalters with Hymnaries and two Breviaries, with which eleven[14] boys now know our Office and maintain the choir services and weekly turns as [we do] in a convent whether I am present or not. And several of them are writing Psalters and other necessary things. And the lord emperor is greatly delighted with their chanting. I strike the bells at all the hours, and perform the divine Office with a congregation of babes and sucklings. But we sing by heart because we have no service-book with notes.

Concerning the good king George.

A certain king of that region, of the school of Nestorian Christians, who was of the race of that great king who was called Prester John of India, attached himself to me in the first year of my coming hither and, being converted by me to the truth of the true catholic faith, took the lesser Orders and wearing the sacred vestments served me as I celebrated; so that the other Nestorians accused him of apostasy. Nevertheless he brought over a great part of his people to the true catholic faith, and built a beautiful church on a scale of royal magnificence to the honour of our God, of the holy Trinity, and of the lord Pope, and of my name,[15] calling it the Roman Church. And this king George departed to the Lord six years ago a true Christian, leaving a son and heir in the cradle who is now nine years old. But the brothers of the same king George, since they were perfidious persons in the errors of Nestorius, subverted after the king's death all whom he had converted, leading them back to their former schism. And because I was alone and was unable to leave the Emperor the Kaan I could not go to that church which is twenty day's journeys distant. Yet if some good helpers and fellow-workers come I hope in God that all may be retrieved; for I still have the grant of the aforesaid king George deceased.[16]

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[14] *C* reads Ex quibus xij—" Of whom twelve ".

I say again that if there had not been the above-mentioned slanders great fruit would have followed. If I had had also two or three comrades to help me perhaps the Emperor the Kaan too would have been baptized. I ask for such

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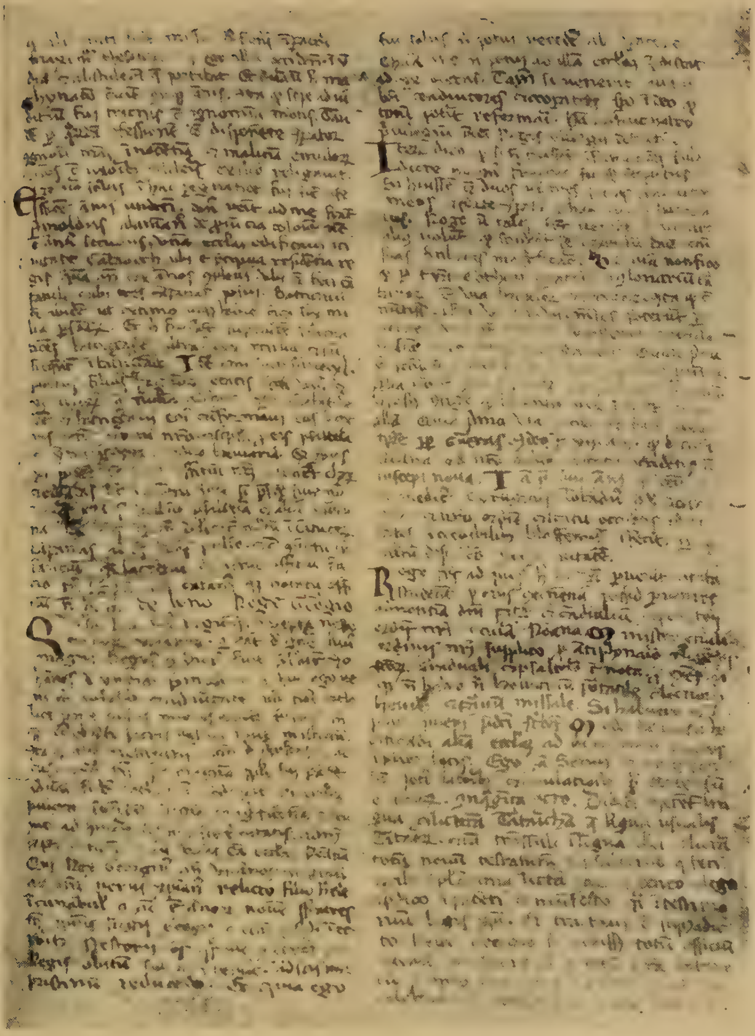
[15] *P* nomen meum *C* and *SF* nomine meo *A.M.* omits *GB* nominavit The words are rather indistinct in *P*, and I have translated them provisionally as if they were *nominis mei*.

[16] King George is a person of great interest, well known to readers of Marco Polo who also calls him a descendant of Prester John. He died in 1298. John says nothing of the connexion of king George's conversion and death with the rise and fall of his persecution by the "other Nestorians", but the coincidence of the date of George's death and of the building of the first church at Khan-baliq is significant. "Recent research is tending to show that the prosperity of the Nestorians in China at this epoch was due to a great extent to the patronage of this powerful king. Great, then, must have been their resentment when their patron allied himself in 1294 to an intruder from Rome, went over to Rome with all the Christians of his tribe, built a Roman church at Tung-shêng or at Ta-t'ung, and was himself ordained to one of the minor orders. The opposition of the Nestorians to the new preaching seems to have been furious, and it did not wholly cease until King George was dead and his tribe had been compelled by his brother and successor to return to their former schism." cf. *The East and the West*, 1914, p. 395. cf. pp. 234–240 below.



THE FIRST LETTER OF JOHN OF MONTE CORVINO
(From the Paris MS. Latin 5006 fol. 171r°)

Fig. 16.

facing p. 174.

brothers to come, if any are willing to come, as may study to give themselves for an example and not to enlarge their own fringes. With regard to the way I make known that through the land of Toctai,[17] emperor of the northern Tartars, is the shorter way and safer, so that they will be able to come with the envoys within five or six months. But the other road is very long and very dangerous, with two voyages of which the first is like the distance between Acre and the province of Provence, but the other is like the distance between Acre and England, and it might happen that they would scarcely accomplish that route in two years. Because the first way has not been safe for a long time on account of wars there are therefore twelve years that I have not received news of the Roman court and of our Order and of the state of the West. It is now two years since a certain Lombard physician [and] surgeon[18] came who filled these parts with incredible blasphemies about the Roman court and our Order and the state of the West, on which account I much desire to learn the truth.

I ask the Brothers whom this letter may reach that they take care that the contents of it may be able to come to the knowledge of the lord Pope and of the Cardinals and of the agent of our Order at the Roman court. The Minister General of our Order I beg for an Antiphoner and a Legends of the Saints, a Gradual and a Psalter with notes for a copy, for I have nothing but a portable Breviary with the short Lessons and a small Missal.[19] If I have a copy the aforesaid boys will write. Now I am in the act of building another church with the view of distributing the boys in several places. I am now old and am become white more from toils and troubles than from age, for I am fifty-eight years old. I have a competent knowledge of the Tartar language and character, which is the usual language of the Tartars; and I have now translated in that language and character the whole New Testament and the Psalter, which I have had written in their fairest writing. And I understand and read and preach openly and in public as it were in testimony of the law of Christ. And I arranged with the aforesaid king George, if he had lived, to translate the whole Latin Office, that it might be sung throughout the whole land in his dominion. And whilst he was alive Mass used to be celebrated in his church according to the Latin rite in that character and tongue, both the words of the Canon and the Prefaces.[20] And the son of the said King is called John because of my name. And I hope in God that he will copy his father's steps. According indeed to what has been heard and seen I believe that no king or prince in the world can equal the lord Kaan in breadth of land, in multitude of people, and greatness of wealth. The end. Dated in the city of Khan-baliq of the kingdom of Cathay in the year of the Lord 1305 on the 8 day of the month of January.[21]

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[17] *P* Cothay *C* Chothay *A.M. Gothorum* or, in the second letter, *Kathan.* It stands, as Pelliot suggests, for Toctai (Chinese T'o-t'o), Khan of Kipchak 1291–1312, whose capital was at Sarai on the Volga north of the Caspian Sea. cf. *Yüan shih*, c. 107 fol. 5r°; Bretschneider, *JNCBRAS*, 1876, p. 180; S. Lane Poole, *Mohammadan Dynasties*, 1894, (where Tōḳtō's dates are 1290–1312); *Il Milione* pp. 232, 239–243. Pelliot points out that Jordan of Sévérac writes the name *tathay* (wrongly transcribed Cathay). cf. Cordier, *Les Merveilles de l'Asie* pl. XVII.

[18] *P* quidam medicus Cyrugicus lombardus *C* quidam medicus ciruicus (*or* ciriucus) The version follows Wadding (chirurgicus) and Yule; but it seems to be possible that the word is a proper name, perhaps Cyriacus.

[19] The service books named need little explanation. Psalters with Hymnaries are found from as early as the 7th century. John had apparently copied his Psalms and Hymns from his *breuiarium*

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portatile; and, as he asks for an *Antiphoner*, his Psalters were perhaps partially "non-liturgical"; but as they were meant for use in Church it seems to be likely that he inserted at least the minimum of antiphons, responses, etc., although we read that "the Psalter arranged liturgically with antiphons, etc., is not met with until about the year 1300." On the other hand he asks with confidence, as for a book with which he was familiar, for a *Psalterium cum nota*, though LITTLEHALES says "Music makes its first appearance as part of the book in the late thirteenth century." The "short Lessons", as P. Michael BIHL (to whom I am very much indebted for the very great pains he has taken to make all the liturgical points clear) tells me, were not the short Lessons at Prime, but the Lessons of the Nocturns shortened in the Breviaries written for the use of Brothers who were travelling. cf. WORDSWORTH and LITTLEHALES, *The Old Service-Books of the English Church*, 1910, pp. 110, 112; *AFH*, 1923, p. 228; *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 577, 578.

[20] As lately as 25 January, 1615, leave was given to the Jesuits to celebrate Mass in the Chinese language, and a translation was printed. cf. *Var. Sin.* 12. p. 57 (3).

[21] *P* fol. 170*d*–171*c*.

6. This letter brother John, the legate aforesaid of the Apostolic See, sent over to a certain Preaching Brother, a spiritual man who was travelling round the parts of the East preaching the faith of Christ to the nations, by Venetian merchants who came back from Tartary and gave the said Preaching Brother a tablet of the great Kaan the emperor as a pledge of truth. And the Brother himself sent it on to the Minor and Preaching Brothers in several places this side of the sea. And the Brother himself made it known that [there were] many Preaching Brothers who had learned the Latin, Greek, and Tartar letters and language very well and have hastened to go to Upper Tartary bearing books, chalices, and vestments. And the aforesaid Brothers began the journey and came as far as Gazaria[22] of the Northern Tartars, but were not able to go farther because of wars. And so they stayed in the same city preaching and baptizing the people there until the war should cease.[23]

7. A letter of Brother John, legate of the Pope in Tartary, to the Archbishop.[24]

To the Reverend Father in Christ . ., to Brother . to Brother . to the Vicar of the Minister General of the Order of Minor Brothers, and to the Vicar of the Brothers and Master of the Order of Preachers, and to the Brothers of either Order dwelling in the province of the Persians, brother John of Monte Corvino of the Order of Brothers Minor, an unprofitable servant of Christ, preacher of the holy Christian faith, legate and envoy of the Apostolic See of Rome; health and love in him who is the true love and health of all. The rule of love demands that those who are separated far and widely, and especially those who travel for the law of Christ, when they cannot see one another with unveiled face may at least be comforted by words and letters. I have thought that you have reason to wonder that living so many years in so distant a province you have never received a letter from me. But I have wondered no less that never until this year have I received letter or greeting from any Brother or friend, nor does it seem as if anyone remembered me; and most of all when I heard that rumours had reached you that I was dead. But now I tell you that last year at the beginning of January I sent a letter in few words about my state and position to the Father Vicar and to the Brothers of the province of Gazaria by a certain friend of ours who was among the retinue of lord Toctai[25] Khan who came to the lord Kaan of Cathay. In which letter I asked the same Vicar that they would send on[26] copies of it to you. And now I [am assured] by good persons[27] who are now come with the envoys of the aforesaid lord Toctai to the lord Kaan of Cathay that my letter reached you, and that that same messenger who carried my letter came to Tauris afterwards from the city of Sarai. And so I thought I would not mention the facts and things contained in that letter or write [them] over again. And the first thing is about the persecution of the Nestorians. The second about the church and houses finished. I have had six pictures[28] made of the Old and New Testament for the instruction of the unlearned; and they are written [upon] in Latin, Tursic,[29] and Persian letters so that all tongues may be able to read.

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[22] The Crimea.

[23] *P* fol. 171*c*.

[24] *P* archiepiscopo *GB* archiepiscopi If this correction, which I also made in 1914, is right it is at least an anachronism, for John was not Archbishop when he wrote.

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[25] *P C* Cothay *A.M.* Kathan

[26] *P* transmicterent *C* trasmicteret

[27] *P* iam mihi per bonas *C* iam mihi constat per bonas

[28] *P* vj picturas *C* vbi picture It seems to me quite probable that *ubi* is the true reading. Six seems an inadequate number, and no number is mentioned by the Pope, who writes: quod ecclesias construxerit. & picturas noui et ueteris testamenti in eis depingi fecerit; and: In qua . . . ystorie noui, & ueteris testamenti ad doctrinam rudium depingi; where *in eis* and *In qua* suggest *ubi*. If *ubi* is right it is an indication that *C* is independent of *P*.

[29] Tursicis, "Turkish (?)" *C* tarsicis Tarssia is marked on the Catalan map. *Tarsā* appears to be a Persian word applied in contempt primarily to Christians but also to persons of other religions, so that *tarsica lingua* might mean "the language of the idolaters", or Mongol. The absence of explicit mention of the Chinese as distinct from the Mongols is one of the curiosities of these letters as it is of Marco Polo. It is perhaps possible that the anti-foreign feeling among the Chinese was so strong that it was useless for John to consider them at all, but otherwise it is hard to believe that there was ever a time when Latin was more generally understood in Khan-baliq than Chinese and the omission of Chinese from this list of languages would be very strange.

The third thing is that some of the boys whom I bought and baptized have departed to the Lord. The fourth is that from the time in which I have been in Tartary in Cathay I have baptized several thousands. In this year of the Lord mcccv, moreover, I began another new place before the gate of the lord Kaan, and between the Court and our place there is only the road distant a stone's throw[30] from the door of the lord Kaan.

Master Peter of Lucalongo, a faithful Christian and a great merchant who was my companion from Tauris, himself bought the site for the place of which I have spoken and gave it to me by the love of God and the working of the divine grace. For a more useful and suitable place for building a catholic Church could not be had in the whole empire of the lord Kaan. I received the place in the beginning of August, and, by the assistance and help of benefactors, up to the feast of St. Francis it was finished with a wall all round and houses, simple (?) offices, and an oratory which will hold two hundred persons. But on account of the winter I could not finish the church. But I have the timbers collected in the house and by the mercy of God I shall finish it in the summer. I tell you that it seems a sort of marvel to all who come from the city and from elsewhere, because they had not rumours from this hitherto, and when they see the place newly made and the red Cross placed aloft at the top.[31]

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[30] At the foot of the page is the note: per iactum unius baliste, "by a catapult shot".

[31] The chronology is not clear. On 8 January, 1305, John was "in the act of building another church". Here he says "*In this year* (in isto anno domini) 1305 I began another new place". On the whole YULE seems to be right in thinking that the site was received in August, 1304; that the building described was done by 4 October (St. Francis's day), 1305; that at the date of the second letter, 13 February, 1306, all building was stopped, as it always is at Peking, by the frost, but it was hoped that the church would be finished in the summer of 1306. The buildings named are too many to have been put up between early August and 4 October in the same year, and it is natural enough that John should mean the feast of St. Francis then last past, without specially saying so. But there must be some serious error in the words "in this year 1305". Though Quinquagesima fell in February (13 and 5) in both 1306 and 1307, there are fatal objections to the suggestion that John began his year at Lady Day and wrote 1305, 1306 for what we call 1306, 1307.

And we in our oratory sing the office regularly by heart, because we have not notes. The lord Kaan can hear our voices in his chamber. And this wonderful fact is published far and wide among the people, and will have great effect, as the divine mercy shall dispose and fulfil.

From our first church and place to the second church which I built afterwards there are two miles and a half inside the city which is very great. And I have divided the boys and placed part in the first, and part I have established in the second. And they perform the Office by themselves; but I as chaplain celebrate in either church by weeks, for the boys are not priests.

Concerning the great empire of the Tartars.

Concerning the regions of the Orientals, and especially concerning the empire of the lord Kaan, I give you to know that there is none greater than it[32] in the world. And I have a place in his court and a regular right of entry and of sitting, as legate of the lord Pope; and he honours me above all other prelates, whatever may be their titles. And although the lord Kaan himself has heard many things about the Roman court and the state of the Latins, yet he much desires to see envoys coming from those parts. In these countries there are many schools of idolaters of different beliefs, and there are many monks of different schools wearing different habits, and they are of much greater austerity and obedience than Latin monks are.

Of India I have seen the greater part, and made inquiries about other parts of India, and it would be of great profit to preach to them the faith of Christ if Brothers would come. But none should be sent but men of the most solid character, for the regions are very beautiful, full of spices and of precious stones. But they have few of our fruits. And on account of the great mildness and warmth of the air and position they go naked, covering the loins with a scanty covering. And consequently they have no need of our arts and crafts of tailors and cordwainers. There it is always summer and never winter. I baptized there about a hundred persons.

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[32] *P* non sit ej maior *C* non eo maior

In the same letter Brother John himself says that formal envoys came to him from Ethiopia, asking him to go thither to preach or to send good preachers, because since the time of the Blessed Matthew the Evangelist and of his disciples they have not had preachers to instruct them in the faith of Christ,[33] and they much wish to attain to the true faith of Christ. And if Brothers were sent there they would all be converted to Christ and would become true Christians. For there are very many in the East who are called Christians and believe in Christ in name alone, but know nothing else about the Scriptures and the doctrines of the Saints, living in ignorance because they have no preachers and teachers.

Brother John also says that after the feast of All Saints he baptized 400 persons. And because he has heard that several brothers of either Order have gone to the Persians and to Gazaria, he exhorts them fervently to preach the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and to bring forth fruit of souls. The letter itself was dated, he said, in Khan-baliq, a city of the kingdom of Cathay, in the year of the Lord 1306 on Quinquagesima Sunday in the month of February.[34]

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[33] *C* here reads: Nam postquam B. matheus ibi fuit & discipuli eius propter hostiles incursus populi consumti, & dispersi sunt. & sic defecit ecclesia fidelium. Et qui remanserunt predicatores non habuerunt qui eos instruerent, *etc*.

[34] *P* fol. 171*c*–172*b*. The last two paragraphs present a curious problem. For *P* introduces them with: In eadem epistola dicit ipse frater Johannes. *C* (without even beginning a new paragraph): Item dicit dictus frater Johannes in quadam sua epistola *W* separated them from the preceding paragraph by about 20 pages and introduced them with: Vltra ea quae scripsit anno superiori Fr. Joannes à Monte Corvino (inquit B. Odoricus) hoc anno narrat in alia à se scripta Epistola, quod *etc*. The italics, which give the impression that these words are a quotation from "Odoric", are the work of the editor of the 2nd edition of *A.M.*, and are not used in the first edition where the words are evidently WADDING's own What seems to be certain is that the end of the original letter had not been seen by the writers of any of our three authorities, *P*, *C*, or *W*. Each of them gives the substance of it in indirect speech introduced by a different phrase; and it is tempting to guess that Thomas of Tolentino, who carried the letter and had no doubt read it many times, had lost the last sheet and reported it from memory. "The letter *itself* was dated, *he said*, . . ." cf. *JRAS*, 1921, p. 95.

8. Now Brother Thomas of Tolentino,[35] who being himself too a Minor Brother and a devoted preacher had already preached among the infidels for many years, returning from Tartary with this letter [and] coming into Italy, went to the Roman court beyond the mountains to Gascony where Pope Clement was staying with the Cardinals. He told these mighty works of God first to Brother John of Muro, sometime Minister General of the Brothers Minor and then a Cardinal.[36] And Brother John himself reported to the lord Pope and to the Cardinals. And Brother Thomas, being called into the Consistory, rehearsed in a notable speech before the lord Pope and the Cardinals and Prelates these wonderful works of our God so well begun and followed up by Brother John of Monte Corvino and other Brothers, asking the lord Pope and the Cardinals to take care that this work of God might be increased and perfected.

Concerning the seven Brothers, Bishops.

And lord Pope Clement, filled with great joy, together with the Cardinals, at this vast change of the right hand of the Most High, longing and anxious that so holy a work of God should be followed up, charged Brother Gonzalvus, Minister General of the Minor Brothers, that with the advice of the Brothers he should immediately choose seven good Minor Brothers, adorned with virtues, and of approved good sense, and learned in the divine Scriptures, and that he should cause the same Brothers by his authority to be ordained and consecrated Bishops, and should send them over into Tartary with the license of the lord Pope that they should ordain and consecrate Brother John to be Archbishop and Patriarch of the whole East; and that the seven Bishops themselves should assist him as suffragans in the neighbouring great cities near to Khan-baliq after having been appointed as Bishops; that, as God had enlightened the Latin church through St. Francis, by word and example alike, and had brought home to salvation many thousands of souls, so too through his disciples he might bring back to the Christian faith the unbelieving peoples of the East and schismatic and erring Christians, and the light of faith which Jesus Christ had kindled in the realms of the Tartars through the same Brothers Minor might by them be so continually fostered and increased that it could not be put out. Seven good Brothers were therefore chosen by the Minister General to be Bishops; to wit, two from the province of St. Francis which is the head of the Order, Brother Andrew, Reader, of Perugia and Brother Peregrine of Castello; Brother Nicholas of Apulia, formerly Minister of the province of St. Francis, Brother William of France,[37] and three other Brothers Bishops from other provinces of the Order. And the Minister General sent them with the licences of the lord Pope to inner Tartary and to India to Brother John.[38]

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[35] cf. *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 541, 557; 1928, pp. 349–376; *New China Review*, 1921, pp. 219–226; and pp. 210–213 below. He suffered martyrdom at Thana near Bombay on 9 April, 1321, and his bones were buried by Odoric in the Franciscan church at Zaitun.

[36] Johannes de Muro Vallis was elected Minister General in June, 1296, made Cardinal and Bishop of Ostia in 1302, and died in 1312 or 1313. He presided at the general chapter held at Assisi at Whitsuntide, 1304, when Gondisalvus de Vallebona, a Portuguese, who is mentioned just below, was elected Minister General. Gondisalvus died in 1313. cf. *BF*, IV. pp. 423 (*b*), 429 (*d*); *A.M.*, VI. pp. 7, 39, 200.

9. A copy of the licence to Brother John.

The letter of Pope Clement to Brother John.

Clement, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the beloved son in Christ Brother John of Monte Corvino of the Order of Minor Brothers, chosen and appointed by us to be Archbishop in Khan-baliq, health and Apostolic benediction, etc. . . . Below follows.[39]

It has quite lately been brought to the notice of us and of the Apostolic See by trustworthy report that you, fired with love and with zeal for the orthodox Christian faith, betook yourself once in person by command of the same See, with the previous consent and special permission of your Order and of the Minister General, to the very countries of the unbelievers of the East to gain for the living God the souls of the unbelievers; and that in the lands of the dominion of the Tartars you have by the favour of the grace of the holy Spirit faithfully and diligently brought very many of the unbelievers through the washing of holy baptism to the true faith of Christ.[40] And afterwards reaching the upper regions as it were of the great prince, king of the Tartars, after many and various persecutions and intrigues and injuries brought upon you by the Nestorian heretics and many false accusations added and innumerable strokes of trouble, you, like a faithful athlete and most brave champion of Christ (he by whose command kings reign and princes rule causing trust) when the truth had been found out, because of love of the said faith came deservedly into the great favour of the said great king.[41] And so, the right hand of the Lord working wonders with you and healthfully guiding your acts, you obtained leave to have a church built to the honour of God and of the catholic faith in the city of Khan-baliq (Cabalech), where is the great and honourable [seat] of the kingdom of the said great king by the will of the same king. In which, after a bell-tower had been built and bells put in the same, causing stories of the New and Old Testament to be painted to teach the unlearned [you have gathered] a congregation of boys whom you bought in their childhood with alms given you by the faithful and joined to the unity of the faithful by the sacrament of baptism, and whom, after they had been sufficiently taught by you in the Latin tongue and the teaching of Latin letters, you have well and laudably instructed in the ecclesiastical Office according to the rules of the Roman church, and have at the motion of the Lord healthily disposed [in two places]. And these brothers indeed or clerks, by the help of the divine grace fervently intent on keeping the commandments of God, bring praise to God in the same church, and sound and make resound in a strange land the melody of the songs of Sion. And you yourself not the less are doing in those regions many works of piety and love which increase the faith and promote a great fruit and advantage of souls. We however, whom zeal for the salvation of souls stirs healthfully to promote this so pious business thus begun, extending the Apostolic eye of watchfulness to the merits of the opinion of the holy See sent to you before, and considering carefully that in the aforesaid regions must be placed the angel who is clothed with a cloud, namely of the scripture of the prophets, wears a rainbow on his head, that is to say, mystically understood, having the gift of the holy Spirit, convinces all adversaries of the truth and confutes [them], and holding an open book in his hands, like a scribe instructed in the kingdom of the heavens, teaches the people committed to him for salvation; and that through these other pious activities of your ministry, in which by the inspiration of God you are faithfully and diligently engaged in the same regions for the increase of the faith not without great labours and detractions and attacks of mobs, when pernicious errors have been wholly removed, heresies in those very regions will be taken out, schisms uprooted, and great—nay even the very greatest—good will come to the said great king and to his kingdom and very many desirable things will follow, so that the glory of the orthodox faith, as we hope, will be fortified there with so much the more powerful strength as the king aforesaid and his kingdom aforesaid shall be adorned with happier truth to the praise of the divine Name; ordain You, a professed member of the Order of Brothers Minor, whom trustworthy testimonials commend with regard to knowledge of letters, strictness in religion, cleanness of life, honesty of character, and gifts of other virtues, Archbishop and appoint you to be pastor in the aforesaid city of Khan-baliq by the advice of our brothers and fulness of Apostolic power, committing to you the full charge and care of the souls which live in the above-mentioned parts and in all others which are subject to the dominion of the Tartars, and granting you by the same authority in him who gives grace and bestows rewards full and free power to exercise all the rights which are recognized as belonging to Archbishops according as canonical permissions allow; and also to your successors, Archbishops of Khan-baliq who shall be for the time, to use all and every gift and grant which by our letters we formerly thought ought to be allowed by Apostolic authority to those of your Order of Brothers Minor who were setting out to the lands of the Saracens, pagans, and other unbelievers; trusting that through the care of your prudence and the exercise of the work of prudence the people committed to you will chase away the darkness of their errors and will turn their hearts perfectly to Christ the living Lord and their Saviour, and being turned will be preserved from harm and will be made perfect both in spiritual things and temporal by the increase of wished for prosperity. Take up therefore the light yoke of the Lord and submit the neck to his easy burden, and so study diligently to carry out the charge aforesaid committed to your care that through these you may be counted worthy to receive with the elect the prize of eternal blessedness. Dated etc. [Dated at Poictiers, x kalends of August, in the second year (23 July, 1307).] Another Bull.

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[37] *P* ffranchya *C* Guilielmus Gallicus . . . Andreas de Guidonis de perusio lector.

[38] *P* fol. 172*b*,*c*.

[39] The Registers for the year 1307 seem to be missing or at least incomplete and in *BF*, V. p. 37, No. 85, Eubel has supplied the passage here omitted from another Bull. cf. *A.M.* an. 1307; Raynaldus, *An. Eccles.* an. 1307 No. 20. The complete text of this and other Bulls which were thought to have been lost is given in *C* fol. 99 r°, v°., and is accepted as possibly genuine by P. Michael Bihl, *AFH*, 1923, p. 230, 231. cf. *GB*, III. pp. 60–64; *JRAS*, 1921, pp. 97–102; and for Eubel's text and *P*, *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 559, 560, 587–589. The version follows *P* where possible but supplies the missing portions from *C*.

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[40] Here Eubel (*BF*, V. pp. 37, 38) supplies a passage missing in *P* from the letter *Nuper considerantes* in *Ann. Eccles.* tom. XV p. 26, an. 1307 No. 29. cf. also Mosheim, *Hist. Tart. Eccles.* p. 123. The version here follows *C*.

[41] Here and below it has seemed necessary to take some liberties with the very corrupt and involved text, translating, for example, *ueritatem, comperta* as " when the truth had been found out." In the text in *JRAS*, 1921, p. 98, " iniurias [?] " should be " innumeras."

Another licence to Brother John.

Clement, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the beloved son Brother John, etc. Wishing therefore to follow your person with special gifts of favour and spiritual grace we grant you in the first place by authority that any one you please of the Brothers of the said Order, whom (after they had been ordained Bishops by us by Apostolic authority and for the greater salvation of souls specially deputed by us to help in this charge committed to you) we send to you with full powers, calling to his assistance two or three others of the said Bishops or their successors, may have power to impart to you in our place the gift of consecration; and that after the gift of this consecration has been given you [he may invest you] in sign to wit of the pontifical office with the pall, taken for you by us from the body of the blessed Peter and demanded with suitable importunity, which we send to you by the same Bishops charging them by the tenor of the present letter to do it faithfully and to take care to give [it] under the form which we send enclosed under our seal; expecting afterwards to receive from you the oath of due fidelity to our name and that of the Roman Church under the form which we direct under the same seal. Moreover the same Bishop who shall impart to you the gift of this consecration and assign the aforesaid pall must not delay to send us by special messenger the form of the oath which it shall be your duty to supply word for word in your letter fastened with your seal. Do you however use the aforesaid pall on those days on which by right it shall be lawful for you to use it. . . . Dated [as above].[42]

Another licence that Brother John may be able to consecrate Bishops.

Clement, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the beloved son Brother John, etc. But if you learn that more than the said six Bishops will be necessary for so pious and saving a work, do you [take] other persons suitable in life, learning, and age, where and when it shall be expedient, and consecrate them Bishops in our place and name, ordain, and appoint them as pastors, committing to them fully the care of souls and the charge of the people committed to them; and grant them in addition to those who have now been consecrated by our command the gift of consecration, assisted by two or three Bishops as is usual and necessary in this case. And you may do all and every thing which may be needed in the case of these persons. . . . Dated etc.

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[42] This and the preceding Bull are alluded to in one of the earliest printed references to John. In a list of cases where the pall has been sent "to the ends of the earth" John MAGNUS, *Metropolis Ecclesiae Upsalen.*, 1557, p. 45, says: CLEMENS V. anno 1305. fecit fratrem Ioannem de monte Caluino, ordinis Minorum, existentem in dominio Tartarorum, Archiepiscopum Cambalnensem, fecitque consecrari in curia IX. fratres eiusdem ordinis in Episcopos, quos misit ad partes illas Suffraganeos, & in auxilium ipsius Archiepiscopi, missum est sibi palleum de curia, ordinatúmque quod esset propter loci distantiam pro successoribus.

Another licence is that the said Bishops may be able to choose and consecrate another, if Brother John should have died. And so let it be done with regard to all the other Archbishops who should come and succeed in the archbishopric of Khan-baliq, that the church may not be without a pastor, because on account of the length and the perilous dangers of the road it will not be possible quickly to have recourse to the court of Rome.[43]

10. In this licence lord Pope Clement grants to Brother John that when he has himself been made Archbishop he may be able to appoint and consecrate Bishops and priests and clergy in the cities and provinces of the East, and grants him all his authority that, as the lord Pope presides in the Western and Latin Church as chief Pontiff over all Bishops and Prelates as vicar of the blessed Peter, so also may Brother John preside as Archbishop over all Bishops and Prelates in those parts, with this agreement and understanding that he always confesses himself subject to the Roman Pontiff and acknowledges the use of the pall from him; as well Brother John himself as all future Archbishops of Khan-baliq for ever to be subject to the Roman Church on these conditions. The lord Pope also commends Brother John because he has built churches and has caused pictures of the New and Old Testament to be painted in them in testimony of the wonderful works of our God, that ignorant people who have never heard or known these things may learn by the same pictures to understand God and his wonderful works. And that Brother John the Archbishop and the other Brothers might prosper the more in this divine work the lord Pope Clement sent a complimentary letter to the lord Kaan on this date.[44]

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[43] *C* fol. 99r°, v°; and, for the first sentences (p. 183), *P* fol. 172*c*.

[44] *P* fol. 172*c*, *d*. The letter to the lord Kaan occupies most of fol. 172*d*, but does not mention John or his companions nor contain anything of interest.

11. But they the seven Brothers Bishops and a very large number of other Brothers with them, filled with the divine Spirit and ready to obey for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, set out when they had received leave and benediction, preaching everywhere, the Lord working with them, [and] making a very great harvest of souls.[45]

12. To the beloved son Brother Andrew of Perugia of the Order of Brothers Minor, taken by us to be a Bishop of the Archiepiscopal See of Khan-baliq in the dominion of the Tartars.

The King of kings, our Saviour Jesus Christ, wished the duty of preaching the Gospel, in which the Brothers of your Order have to labour diligently as careful helpers to the pastors of the Church, to be put forward as entitled to a greater reward among the other works of charity which are recognized as more necessary to man labouring in this vale of misery and more acceptable in the sight of the divine Majesty. Wherefore, in order that the word of the Lord may make worthy progress, it is right that spiritual men who have received pureness of life and the grace of wisdom with John should be deputed for the duty of such pastoral care, to preach Christ the Lord to many peoples and nations and tongues and kings, especially in those places where the business of the catholic faith begs for the protection of the propagation of salvation. In order however that the growth of the salvation of souls in the same parts may go forward more perfectly and that the catholic faith may always progress by the help of the Lord from good to better through the teaching of the evangelical message, we (instructed by the orders of the King on high who bowing the height of the heavens that he might redeem man, being made man sent the disciples whom he chose into all the world to preach the Gospel), wishing to call out men to undertake such a charge who are prudent and discreet and know how to instruct the unbelieving peoples for salvation, that they may make straight the paths of our God and render the people acceptable to him, do specially depute you who are sufficiently learned in the law of the Lord, conspicuous for religious life, adorned with honesty of manners and commended on the score of many virtues, by the advice of our brothers and the fulness of Apostolic power, to assist in the charge committed to the said Brother John for the greater salvation of souls, and take you to be Bishop in the said dominion and appoint you pastor, ordering by the authority of the present letter the venerable Brother John [of Muro] of Ostia and our beloved sons the Cardinals John, priest of the title of St. Marcellinus and St. Peter, and Luke, deacon of St. Mary in Via Lata, to grant you by our authority the gift of consecration, and appointing you suffragan of the above-named Archbishop, granting none the less to you and to the Bishops who succeed you in the same dominion that you may be able by our authority to use all and each of the gifts and concessions which we lately thought right to grant in our letter by Apostolic authority to the Brothers of the said Order who were going to the lands of the Saracens, pagans, and other infidels. And so we wish and enjoin upon you for the remission of sins that, devoutly undertaking such pastoral office as has been committed to you in the name of God and of us, you betake yourself in person to the same parts with the grace of the divine blessing to set forth the word of God as the grace of the holy Spirit shall give you, and that, fully relying on the favour of us and of the Apostolic See, you may bring forth fruit and that your fruit remaining may grow into a race of sons of adoption, and the bride of Christ, the Church, rejoicing at her fertility in Christ her spouse, may rejoice that she has sent a faithful and useful minister, while the people of the said parts boast in the Lord that they have received an angel of salvation and peace, and that you accordingly may none the less merit more richly the thanks of the church and the glory of the divine reward. Dated at Poictiers, x kalends of August in the second year of our pontificate (23 July, 1307).[46]

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[45] *P* fol. 173*a*.

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[46] *BF*, V. pp. 38, 39 (No. 86). It is followed by : *In eodem modo dilecto filio Nicolao de Bantia eiusdem ordinis. In e.m. dil. fil. fr. Gerardo Albuini e. ord. In e.m. dil. fil. fr. Ulrico de Soyfridstorf e. ord. In e.m. dil. fil. fr. Peregrino de Castello e. ord. In e.m. dil. fil. fr. Guilelmo de Villanova e. ord.* Then follow 87. *Dilectis filiis Gerardo Albuini, Ulrico de Seistdstorf, Guilelmo de Villanova, Nicolao*

13. And whereas the religious and venerable man Brother John of the Order of Minors was the first to sow the seed of the word of God and found churches in the realm of Cathay and in the great city of Khan-baliq, and converted to Christ and baptized more than ten thousand of the Tartars, and Pope Clement V sent him several Brothers who were consecrated Bishops, and the pontifical pall for himself and all his successors; one indeed of those Brothers Bishops sent home after very many years such a letter as is transcribed in brief below, with these contents.[47]

14. Brother Andrew of Perugia [of the Order of Minor Brothers], by divine permission called to be bishop, to the Reverend Father Brother N N, Warden of the convent at Perugia, eternal health and peace in the Lord. &c. And below, passing over many words, follows.

For on account of the immense distance of lands and seas intervening between me and you I can scarcely hope that a letter sent by me to you can come to your hands. &c. And below he says, You will have learnt then how with Brother Peregrine of blessed memory, a fellow Bishop and inseparable companion of my travels, after much labour and weariness, hunger, and various inconveniences and perils by land and by sea alike, in which we were plundered of everything, even of tunics and cassocks, I came at last by the help of the Lord to the city of Khan-baliq, which is the seat of the empire of the great Kaan, in the year, as I believe, of the Lord's incarnation 1318.[48] And when the Archbishop

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de Bontra, Andreae de Perusio et Peregrino de Castello, ord. fratrum Minorum, per nos assumptis in episcopos suffraganeos archiepiscopalis sedis Cambalien. dominii Tartarorum. Nuper considerantes *etc.* and 88. *Dilecto filio fratri Iohanni de Montecorvino de ord. fratrum Minorum per nos in archiepiscopum Cambalien. assumpto.* Pridem considerantes *etc.* All are dated 23 July, 1307. The original references to the *Registrum Vaticanum* are given as follows :—86 : tom. 54 fol. 138, ep. 652 (nn. 2216–2221); 87 : tom. 54 fol. 108, ep. 45 de Curia (n. 2300); 88 : tom. 54 fol. 108, ep. 46 de Curia (n. 2301). cf. *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 561–563, 590–592.

[47] *P* fol. 186*b*.

[48] This date is probably wrong. In all three MSS. it is millesimo.ccc.xviij. WADDING corrected it to 1308 by leaving out *x*. But one year is not enough to allow for the journey from France to Khan-baliq by way of Persia and India, especially as the journey was one of unusual difficulty and danger and delayed by the sickness and

had been consecrated there according to the order given us by the Apostolic See we made a stay there of about five years; during which space of time we obtained *alafa* from the magnificent Emperor for the food and clothing of eight persons. *Alafa*, moreover, is the expenses which the Emperor grants to the messengers of magnates, ambassadors, warriors, and artificers of different arts, and to jugglers, paupers, and different persons of various classes. And these payments surpass the incomes and expenditure of several Latin kings. With regard to the riches, magnificence, and glory of this great Emperor, with regard to the vastness of the empire, the multitude of peoples, the large number of cities and the greatness of the same, and with regard to the orderly rule of the empire in which none has dared to lift sword against another, I pass by, because it would be long to write and the things would seem incredible to the hearers. For I myself who am present hear such things that I am scarcely able to believe them. And so, coming back to the subject, I turn the style and pen to the things which concern me. There is a certain [49] great city next the Ocean Sea which is called in the Persian tongue Zaitun,[50] in which city a wealthy Armenian lady built a sufficiently beautiful and large church which indeed, after it had been made a cathedral by the Archbishop, she gave of her own will while she was living and left at death with adequate endowment to Brother Gerard the Bishop, who was the first to occupy the same see, and to our Brothers who were with him. But when the said Bishop was dead and buried there the Archbishop wished to make me the successor in the same church. But I, when I did not give my assent [51] to such an appointment and

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death of many of the party. I suspect that *v* should be omitted. The date 1313 thus obtained would agree with Andrew's statement that he spent 5 years at Khan-baliq and moved to Zaitun 4 years before the death of Peregrine in 1322 or 1323.

[49] *P* reads: credere possum. etcetera. Sequitur. infra. Est quedam *C* omits all between possum and Est.

[50] *As*, *P*: Çayton *C* Cayton. There is no doubt now that Zaitun is Ch'üan-chou near the Treaty Port of Amoy in Fu-chien. cf. p. 81 above.

[51] *As*, *P* Set ego . . . me non prebente assensum *C* corrects non assentiui, and *W* by omitting ego

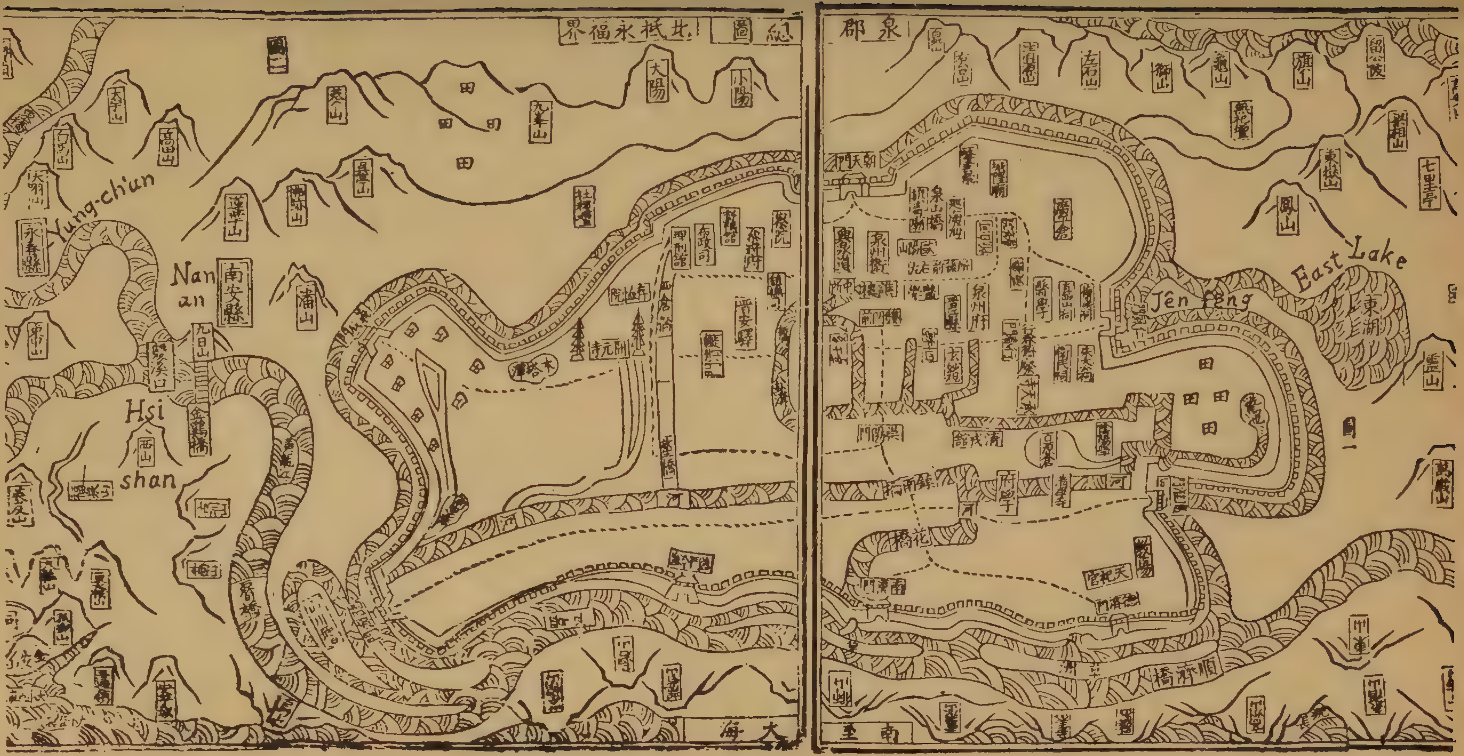
East Lake
Jên fêng
Nan an
Hsi shan
Hung-chün
南安縣
泉州府
東湖
泉郡

FIG. 17.—The City of Chüan-chou from the *Ch'üan chou fu chih.*

succession, he conferred it on Brother Peregrine the Bishop aforesaid who when he had an opportunity conveyed himself thither and after he had ruled the same for a few years closed his last day on the morrow of the octave of the Apostles Peter and Paul in the year of the Lord 1323.[52] And for nearly four years before his death, since I had not been comfortable at Khan-baliq for some reasons, I obtained leave that the said imperial charity *alafa* should be given me at the aforesaid city of Zaitun, which is about three months' journey distant from Khan-baliq. As I said, I obtained leave at my earnest request and with eight horses allowed me by the Emperor I set out with great honour to the same city and arrived there while Brother Peregrine who has often been spoken of was still living. And in a certain grove near the city at a quarter part of a mile I caused a convenient and beautiful church to be built with all offices enough for twenty brothers, with four rooms of which any one would be good enough for any prelate. And in this place, indeed, I stay continually and live upon the royal charity which has been mentioned, which may amount, according to the reckoning of the Genoese merchants, to the value of a hundred golden florins annually or thereabout.[53] And of this charity I have spent a great part in the building of the aforesaid place, the like of which I know none among the hermitages in all our province for beauty and every convenience. Finally, no long time having passed after the death of Brother Peregrine, I received a decree of the Archbishop about my appointment in the said cathedral church, and to this appointment I was reasonably persuaded to give assent. And I stay now in the place or church of the city, now in the hermitage, according to the inclination of my will. And I am sound of body and, as far as length of age allows, vigorous and active, having indeed none of the defects, accidents, and properties of old age except white hair. In this vast empire truly there are people of every nation which is under heaven and of every sect. And it is allowed to all and each to live according to his sect; for there is with them this opinion or, rather, error that each one is saved in his own fold. We are able to preach freely and unmolested. But of the Jews and Saracens none is converted. Of idolaters a very large number are baptized, but having been baptized they do not walk straight in the path of Christianity.

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[52] *P* m.ccc.xxij. *C* 1322(?) in crastino apostolorum The day was Thursday, 7 July, 1323 or Wednesday, 7 July, 1322 or Wednesday, 30 June, 1322.

[53] "In intrinsic value something less than £50." YULE, *Cathay*, III. p. 73.

Concerning the holy Brothers.

In India four of our brothers were killed by the Saracens. And one of them was cast twice into a great fire, but escaped unhurt; and yet at so stupendous a miracle no one was changed from his misbelief.[54] All these things aforesaid written out with a certain brevity I have been careful to send to your Paternity, that through you they may be passed on to the notice of others. To the spiritual Brothers and to my particular friends I do not write because I do not know who are departed and who survive; so I ask that they have me excused. I send my greeting to all and commend myself to all as cordially as I can. And do you, Father Warden, commend me to the Minister and Custos of Perugia and to all the other Brothers. All the Bishops made suffragans of the see of Khan-baliq by the lord Pope Clement are departed in peace to the Lord. I alone remain. Brother Nicholas of Banthra and Brother Andrutius of Assisi and one other Bishop died at the entrance of Lower India in a certain country of extreme heat, where several other brothers also have died and are buried. May your Paternity fare well in the Lord now and always. Dated in Zaitun in the year of the Lord 1326 in the month of January.[55]

Of Andrew nothing more seems to be known.

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[54] The earliest account of this martyrdom to reach Europe was that given by Bartholomew (p. 210 below). There are long accounts of it in Odoric (*Cathay*, II. pp. 117–132), in *P* fol. 184*a*–185*c* (attributed to Odoric), and especially in *Chronica Generalium Ministrorum O.F.M.* (Assisi MS. 329 fol. 182r°–187r°; *Analecta Franciscana*, III, pp. 597–613). cf. also *JRAS*, 1928, pp. 349–376.

[55] *As* fol. 136r°,v°., *P* fol. 186*b*–*d*. The version follows the Assisi MS. 341 (*As*) in a few places where it differs from *P*, because it seems to be a slightly earlier and better text and has not, I think, been translated before.

Odoric, who saw Archbishop John near the end of his life, mentions him perhaps in the following words: Once when he (the Kaan) was coming to Khan-baliq and certain notice of his arrival had been given, a Bishop of ours and some of our Brothers Minor and I went quite two days journey to meet him. And when we were come near to him I placed a cross on a pole so that it might be publicly seen. I had moreover a censer which I had brought with me in my hand. And we began to sing in a loud voice, saying *Veni Creator Spiritus*, etc. *The Book of the Estate of the Great Kaan*, written about 1330 by John of Cora Archbishop of Sultania, gives also some account of him in a passage which is given in full below.

And once more we hear of the great Archbishop in a letter addressed to the Pope by certain chiefs of the Alans, natives of the Caucasus who held posts under the Mongol government in China. The letter is dated 11 July, 1336, and says: Let this moreover be known to your Holiness that for a long time we were instructed in the catholic faith and wholesomely governed and very much strengthened by your legate John, a valiant, holy, and capable man, who however died eight years ago; in which [years] we have been without a guide and without a spiritual comforter, though we have heard that you have made provision for another. He however is not yet come; wherefore we beg your Holiness to send us a good, capable, and wise legate to have the care of our souls; and that he may come quickly, because we are in an ill state without a head, without instructor and without comforter.[56]

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[56] *A.M.*, VII. pp. 209, 210. with ref. "Ex secret. an. 4. epist. 131." The version is made from Bib. Nat., MS. lat. 14503 fol. 354*c*. From this letter the date of John's death seems to have been 1329 or possibly 1328 (1328 has been accepted by the Franciscans who celebrated the sixth centenary in 1928. cf. *Acta O.F.M.*, July, 1928), and there seems to be no reason to follow WADDING in assigning it to about 1333. His entry is: In the place of the excellent man and true minister of the Gospel John of Monte Corvino, first Archbishop of Khan-baliq . . ., who died about this time (1333), Brother Nicholas a Minorite is appointed this year . . . and 20 Brothers, priests, and 6 laymen granted him [as companions]. On 1 October, 1333, the Pope wrote to the Kaan: See, we have made provision for the despatch of our venerable Brother Nicholas Archbishop of Khan-

The very meagre later history of the mission ends with the murder of James of Florence, Archbishop of Zaitun, somewhere in central Asia in 1362.[57]

The little that is known of the Franciscan Mission has been told above, chiefly in the words of the three authentic letters from China. There remain three or four documents of secondary importance but yet of great interest. These are a letter written by John of Monte Corvino in India in 1292 or 1293, which survives in an Italian version and in fragmentary Latin quotations; a long summary of his first letter from China, found in the Chronicle of John of Winterthur where it is attributed to a German Brother, perhaps Arnold; and a letter from Peregrine at Zaitun which is generally regarded as spurious. To these is added a little known letter from Bartholomew, Custos of Tabriz. It was the first news of the martyrs of Thana to reach Europe.

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baliq of the Order of Brothers Minor. The mandate to Nicholas himself is dated 18 September, 1333. In 1338 news of his arrival at Almaliq had reached Europe, for the Pope wrote on 13 June that year to " the magnificent Prince Chansi, Emperor of the Tartars of the Middle Empire " that, " as we have learned with delight, you have received with favour and kindness our venerable Brother Nicholas the Archbishop and our beloved sons the Brothers of the Order of Minors, who were lately sent to those regions by our predecessor Pope John XXII of blessed memory." Nicholas was not among those who were put to death at Almaliq about midsummer, 1339 or 1340, but had died, as is said (on I do not know what ancient authority), in 1338. cf. *Cathay*, III. p. 14, where CORDIER quotes GAMS, *Series Episcoporum*, 1873, p. 126: Nicholaus, O. S. Fr., elect. 18. IX,1333; †1338. There is, I believe, no reason to think that Nicholas or any other successor of John reached China. cf. *A.M.*, VII. pp. 138, 139, 212, 456, 457.

[57] *A.M.*, VIII. p. 154, with marginal reference to *Marian. citat.* and *Chron. antiq.* "*Marian.*" refers to MARIANUS of Florence who died while nursing plague patients there in 1523 or 1527. WADDING made great use of his *Fasciculus Chronicarum Ordinis Minorum* (cf. *Scriptores O.M.*, 1650, p. 249) in writing his *A.M.*, and this particular passage seems to have been in lib. iv, cap. 13. The *Fasciculus* is unfortunately not known to be extant, but a summary of it (*Compendium Chronicarum O.F.M.*, not mentioned by WADDING) exists and has been printed. There we read: Eodem anno (1362) frater Iacobus de Florentia, Archiepiscopus Zaitonensis, Thebane diocesi[s], cum fratre Guglelmo Campano in Medorum imperio pro confessione fidei catholice per Sarracenos sacro martirio interemptus est. cf. *Comp. Chron. O.F.M.*, Quaracchi, 1911, p. 84. The " empire of the Medes " is probably, as I think YULE pointed out, the Middle Empire of Chagatai, but might possibly be Persia.

When they were killed the four Brothers were on their way to China where their bones now rest, and so this graphic account of their sufferings deserves a place here.

15. Brother Menentillo of Spoleto to his Brother in Christ Bartholomew of St. Concordio, health and wisdom for all things.

Because I know that you have great concern for knowledge, and know much and would wish to know all things, specially those which you do not know, and would wish to have knowledge and understanding of all things, therefore I write to you certain things just as they are written from the regions of Upper India by a Minor Brother who was companion of Brother Nicholas of Pistoia who died in Upper India on his way to the lord of all India. The messenger I saw and talked with him, in whose arms the said Brother Nicholas died. And thus he testified.

The condition of India is so as is said below. In India there is always heat, and there is never winter there and there is never excessive heat there. And the reason is this. Because there are winds there at all times which temper the air and the heat. The reason why there cannot be winter there is this. Because it is a region (*ragione* ? = *regione*) placed under the zodiac in the manner which is said below. That is that the sun when it is in the beginning of the *Virgin*, that is on the 24 day of August, as I have seen with my eyes and noted, shines perpendicularly so that it does not make a shadow in any direction. And it does the like at the beginning of the *Ram*, against the end of March, and then passing the *Ram* passes towards the north and makes a shadow towards the south, until it goes . . . (*sic*) and returns to the *Virgin*, and in the same way passing the sign of the *Virgin* it then makes a shadow towards the north. And therefore the distance of the sun cannot be so great that there is cold there, and therefore there are not (*sic*) two summers because, as is said above, there is no cold or winter there.

About the length of the days and of the nights I investigated as much as I could by measurement and by reckoning of signs. The day is; when the sun shines straight without any shadow at the said two limits, the day is 15 hours and the night 9. But when the sun is in the solstice of *Cancer* (*chaltro*) the day has 14 hours or a little less and the night is 10 and a little more, that is a quarter part of an hour. But when the sun is in the solstice of *Capricorn*, that is in the month of December, the day has 11 hours, the night 13; because the distance of the sun is rather greater when it is in *Capricorn* than when it is in *Cancer*.[58]

The star moreover which is called *tramontana* (" over-the-mountain ", the pole star) is so depressed or rather low that it hardly appears; for which thing it appears to me that if I had been in a high place I should have been able to see the other *tramontana* which is situated opposite. And I watched much to see it and I saw several constellations which were going round it by which I recognized it, and it seemed to me that they were near. Truly because the mists are continual there, over against those low regions, because of the heats and because of the winds, and the [star] is very low down, I could not make myself sure of it; because India is a large region and perhaps (*forte ?=forse*) in one place it was more and in one less. I estimated this, the reason, as I could, only with regard to Upper India which is called Maabar, in the country of St. Thomas.

About the condition of the land of Upper India.

The condition of the above-written land of India is such that the land is sufficiently well inhabited, and there are large cities there. They have miserable houses because they are made of sandy mud and commonly covered with leaves of trees. Hills are few there; rivers in some places many and in some few; springs none or very few; wells many. And the reason is because water is commonly found here at two or three paces and less. That water is not quite good to drink because it is rather soft and relaxes the bowels; and they commonly have ponds or little valleys like ditches in which rain water is collected, and that they drink. They have few animals. Horses are not found there except with the kings and great barons; and very few flies there are;

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[58] There is some confusion in the above paragraph. Perhaps the first two pairs of numbers have been accidentally transposed.

fleas none.[59] And trees which produce fruit at every season, so that on those same trees of theirs and plants ripe fruits are found in spring (*messo tempore*). In the same way sowing and reaping are done at all seasons, and this is because at all seasons it is hot and not cold. The aromatic spices are cheap here, some more and some less according to the difference of the spices. There are trees which produce sugar and others which produce honey and others which produce liquor which has a taste of wine; and of that the inhabitants of those countries make use and drink. And these three things are of little value. And there is the tree which makes pepper. It is knotted and slender like a vine, and is much like the vine except that it is more slender and is transplanted.

The ginger is like a cane and like roots of canes it is dug up and transplanted. Their canes are tall like trees and have a cubit and more of thickness; round about [are] slender branches and thorny and tiny leaves.

The tree of the brazil (*bersi*) is a slender tree and tall and thorny just like a bramble; the leaves are like ferns. The India nuts are large as melons and have a green colour like cucumbers. Their branches and leaves are like branches and leaves of palm. The tree of the cinnamon is middling large and not very tall, and in trunk and in bark and in leaves is like laurel; and it is much like the laurel. And there is great quantity of it in the island near to Maabar. Of the men to wonder at, that is differently made from the others, and of the animals and of the terrestrial Paradise, much have I asked and searched; nothing have I been able to find of them. The oxen are with them sacred animals and therefore they do not eat their flesh from reverence. But they use their milk and their labour like other people. It rains there at fixed times.

The condition of the inhabitants of India is like this. The men of that region are idolaters and without laws and without letters and without books. They have an alphabet with which they write their accounts and prayers or rather incantations of idols. And they have no paper but write on leaves of trees which are like leaves of palms. They have no conscience of any sin. They have houses of the idols in which they are worshipped almost at every hour, so that they are not gathered to go to worship at any hour, but each goes to worship when it pleases him. And they worship their idols in them in any part by day and by night. They often prepare feasts there. They have no festivals nor any day to keep, nor week nor month in a year.[60] Once only are they married, and if the husband dies that woman is married no more. Carnal sin is not reckoned sin by them, nor are they ashamed to speak of it. In the parts by the sea there are many Saracens and they have great power there; inland few Christians; and Jews are very few there and of little influence against the Christians, and those who have the name of Christianity persecute them greatly.[61] Their dead they do not bury but burn them. And they carry them to burn with instruments and with songs, although the relations of the dead in other places display great grief and distress like other people. India is a large place and there are many kingdoms and many tongues. The men there are very much domesticated and humble and of few words and as it were like villagers. And they are nevertheless black or rather olive, and very well formed. As well the women as the men go barefoot and naked, wearing a towel round the loins. The boys and girls up to 8 years wear nothing but grow up and go naked just as they come from the mother's womb. They do not shave the beard. They wash themselves many times a day. They have no bread and wine. Of our fruits which we use they have few or none. But they use for daily food rice and a little milk; and they eat coarsely like pigs, that is with the whole hand or rather fist without a spoon. In eating they resemble pigs more than men. The land is very secure. Bandits or robbers are rarely found. Many tolls are paid there. Craftsmen are few because arts and crafts are little worth there and have small room. They use swords and daggers enough as we [do]. If they really fight they are despatched in a little time though the army may be large, because they go to battle naked with swords only and with daggers. There are among them some Saracen mercenaries who carry bows.

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[59] The punctuation is rather difficult: chaualli non visitrova senon apo li re & grandi baroni & molte poghe mosche visono pulcie nulla

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[60] The punctuation is again hard: & adorano adognia parte in quelli loro idoli di die & di nocte frequentemente ui aparechiano digiuni feste ne alchuno die da ghuardare nonano . . . innanno vna volta *etc*.

[61] This version follows the punctuation of VAN DEN WYNGAERT in *SF* p. 343. YULE punctuated: in delle parti marine sono molti saracini & anoui grande forsa; in fraterra poghi. xpistiani & giudei va molti poghi & di pogho valore. contra li xpistiani & quelli channo nome di cristianitade molto li perseghuitano. Both ways are unsatisfactory and it is hard to decide between them.

The condition of the sea of India is in this way; that the sea is very abundant in fish, and in a certain place pearls and precious stones are fished there. The ports there are very few and bad. And it is to be known that this is the middle or ocean sea, so that towards midday no land is found except islands. And in that sea there are many islands, more than twelve thousand, and many of them are inhabited and many not. One sails from Isse[62] as far as to Hormuz (*ormesse*) and to those parts which it is said that they are two thousand miles of miles (*sic*) between scirocco (S.-E.) and sunrising; from Minabar and Maabar, opposite to *tramontana*,[63] 300 miles between sunrising and Greek [wind (*i.e.* N.-E.)]; from Menabar (*sic*) to Giugimencota other 300 miles one sails between Greek [wind] and *tramontana*. The rest has not been seen, so I do not speak of it. The beaches of the above-written sea are in the sea in some places 100 miles and more, whence one fears lest the ships strike on the land. And it is not possible to sail there except once in the year, because from the entry of April till the end of October the winds are westerly so that no one could sail towards the west; and then the contrary, that is from the month of October till March. From mid-May until the end of July the winds are so strong that the ships which at that time are found outside the ports whither they go are regarded as hopeless, and if they escape it is by luck. Whence in the year past more than 60 ships have perished, and in this year the places near by have seven.

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[62] If *isse* is a place at all it may possibly be a corruption of Marco Polo's *qisci* which Yule marks as *Kaish* in the Persian Gulf.

[63] *chontra a tramontana* Yule read *ch'entra* and said "which you enter steering to the north." He changed the points of the compass also and took other liberties with this passage without in the end producing perfectly satisfactory sense. It seems to me as if John was describing the voyage from the Persian Gulf to wherever he was in India.

Of the other regions we have no news. Their ships are very frail, mis-shapen, without iron and without caulking, and they are sewn with string like clothing, and so if the thread is broken in one place [the vessel] quickly breaks up. And so every year they are repaired once at least, and more if they wish to go to sea. And they have only one rudder, frail and slender like a board, of the width of one cubit, in the middle of the poop. And when they have to turn they turn with great difficulty; and if the wind is strong they cannot turn. They have one sail and one mast. And the sails are of mat or of miserable cloth. The ropes are of fibre. Again they have few sailors and not good. And so they run many risks, so that it is said that those ships which go sound and safe God guides them and human skill is of little value there. This letter was written in Mabar a city of the province of Sitia of Upper India, day 20 of December in the year of the Lord mccx[cii(?).] [64]

Sir H. Yule draws attention to the fact that John and

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[64] Laurentian Library at Florence, Plut. LXXVII, MS. lxxiv fol. 182–186 (187–191). It is written in a clear unprofessional hand of the 15th century. cf. *Catalogus Cod.. Ital. Bibl. Medic Laur.*, V. 1778, col. 302. The text has been printed by Kunstmann, *Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 41 Band. Munich, 1855,—Bulletins der drei Classen, No. 22. 25 Dez., 1855, col. 171–175; by M. de Civezza, *Storia delle Miss. Francesc.*, VI. pp. 309–314; in *GB*, I. pp. 306–309; and in *SF*, pp. 340–345. Yule's version is in *Cathay*, III. pp. 58–67. I have translated from rotographs obtained through the kindness of P. Michael Bihl O. S. F. of Quaracchi. H. Cordier, *T'oung-pao*, 1917, p. 92, takes the unlikely, if not impossible, view that it was the letter of Menentillus which was written from Maabar on 22 (*sic*) Dec., 1292 or 1293. I take this opportunity of drawing attention to M. Cordier's very valuable article "Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale sous les Mongols" (*T'oung-pao*, 1917, pp. 49–113). If I rarely refer to it it is because it is based on the regretted author's wonderful knowledge of the published authorities rather than on fresh study of the original documents. Other letters from John of Monte Corvino are mentioned by Sbaralea in his *Supplementum ad Script. O.F.M.* p. 443, as having been extracted by Wadding from the Vatican Registers, but I have not been able to trace them in Wadding nor are they known to the learned author of *SF*.

Marco Polo may possibly have met one another in Maabar. Pietro d'Abano mentions the traveller and the missionary, quoting this very letter, in the space of half a page. About the south pole-star "I was told by Marco of Venice, the greatest traveller over the earth and the most careful investigator of all who have ever been known, that he saw the said star under the antarctic pole; and it is large having a tail of which he painted the shape like this. He said too that he saw the antarctic pole at the apparent elevation above the earth of the length of a long military lance, and the arctic pole hidden. Thence too, he related, are exported our camphor, lign aloes, and brazils. He declared that the heat there was intense and the houses few. He saw these things in an island which he reached by sea. He says too that there are men there, and immense rams with coarse hard wool like our hogs bristles; and that there is no approach to these places except by sea. . . . About these inhabitants of these climes Brother John the Cordelier has written a letter quite lately from Mohabar in India, on the shores where the body of Thomas the Apostle lies, saying that in India it is always summer and [yet] not too hot, because there are generally winds which temper the heat. There is no winter there because the sun as it were always passes directly over the heads of the inhabitants, declining very little to the south and north; so that on the 23 day of August I saw with my own eyes and proved that the sunlight was falling so direct over the heads of the inhabitants that it was making no shadow opposite at all; and the same happens about the end of March. So then according to this it seems that the parallel circle in which the zenith of their heads is marked passes through the seventh or eighth degree of Virgo; for that was the position of the sun on that date, the 23 day of August; and through the 22nd or 23rd degree of Aries, and thus they seem to be removed from the zero of the Equator by the space of only 8 degrees and about 4 minutes of latitude. He declares too that the star called tramontana is so low there as to be almost invisible, so that he thinks that from some high place the other tramontana towards the south might be seen. Nevertheless this does not really exist. . . . He says also that he saw constellations revolving round the region of the other tramontana, but it he did not see. And he says that this was perhaps due to the many mists which rise in that country." [65]

16. A few years having passed before the aforesaid events (*i.e.*, very vaguely, 1330) a certain Brother of the Order of St. Francis, a native of the lower parts of Germany, went abroad to the lands of the unbelievers to preach to them the Gospel of Christ (and I have read a long and full letter of his directed by him to his General of the northern Vicariate) and did laudable work there, bringing forth rich fruit of souls. For, as I have learnt and copied from his letter, he converted in the empire of the great Khan, Emperor of the Tartars, much people to the faith of Christ by the fountain of baptism and the saving word of preaching; indeed he would have made very great fruit of souls if the Nestorians, heretical or false Christians who are grown many there, had not stood in his way. For they were jealous of his [66] successful works and mightily opposed him. From time to time they used to incite some of the elders of that land against him by means of calumnies, false accusations, flatteries. They contrived that scourgings, imprisonments, and various punishments before the magistrates should be wickedly inflicted upon him for many days and years. But all these things he bore patiently for Christ. At length the great Khan perceiving (for he loved him dearly) that he was punished for no crime and made the prisoner of a tower or narrow dungeon, mercifully rescued him from captivity and from all his troubles, restoring him to liberty and threatening with severe punishment those who should hurt him thereafter by words or deeds. Living in the eastern shores and northern for some years, perhaps eight or nine, after he had entered them, he had learnt the language of that country or nation so perfectly that he was able with power and boldness to sow in it the seed of the word of God. He bore fruit and prospered so greatly among the people by means of his

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[65] *Conciliator*, Venice, 1504, fol. 97, 98. In one word the first edition of 1472 has been followed.

[66] *eorum* apparently a slip for *eius*.

preaching, drawing men to the faith of Christ, that often many thousands flocked together to his baptism within the space of one month or week. In the places where he had preached, as he confesses in the letter, the Gospel of Christ had never been preached before. For although it is read about the blessed Thomas that India, which had fallen to him in the lot of preaching, in great part believed in Christ through him and through two Roman boys in the days of Pope Sylvester and of Constantine the Roman Emperor, as is read in church history, yet according to his own word to the places where he preached the Gospel of Christ no Catholic came before him to lay foundations or even a first stone of the orthodox faith. No graft, nay, no little plant of the Apostolic faith sprouted there before him, but he being the first to sow there broadcast the seed of Christian teaching on good ground which had been broken up by the ploughshare of preaching and repentance, reaped a rich harvest of believers or converts to Christ. For because he had been a diligent and unwearied labourer in the vineyard of Christ and in the Lord's field he brought home sheaves not of a few but of very many thousands of converts. He converted also Prester John, a wealthy and powerful king about whom many exaggerated stories are read in a little book which we have, and through him his whole tribe to Christ. But alas, after his death, a fatal blow to Christian discipline, it was compelled to return to the vomit of paganism by his successor, a most wicked idolater and tyrant. And these the said Brother was unable to call back like wandering and lost sheep to the enclosure or fold of the faith, because he was too far removed from that kingdom when he was living in the realm of the great Khan, the lord of lords, more than 20 or 30 day's marches away. This oft-said Brother bought forty native boys and taught them Latin letters and grammar. At length however after he had given them nourishment of milk and pulse suited to children he supplied them with solid food, instructing them in music and in the sacred page. They also learnt the canonical Hours and singing so perfectly that they were able to chant them very well alternately in the choir; and some of them also who were more intelligent and had better voices than the others led the choir gloriously. The great Khan took exceeding delight in their singing; wherefore the aforesaid Brother, their master and teacher, was often called by him to bring with him four or six and solace him with their singing. And he, willingly obeying him and glad to give satisfaction and pleasure in this way, used often to repair to the presence of the great Khan and his satraps in the royal hall, taking with him alternately four, six, or eight of the aforesaid boys, and gave him no little joy and happiness through their sweet melody, charming him and his so deeply and wonderfully refreshing them. For this reason, and because of the simple purity of his life and his holy and laudable behaviour, that Brother found so great favour in the eyes of the prince whom we have often mentioned that he used most gratefully to regard him as a kind patron and protector and as it were a chief and particular friend in all his necessities.[67]

. 17. A Letter,

To the Fathers reverend in Christ, Brother N., vicar of the Minister General, and the rest of the Brothers of the Vicariate of the East, brother Peregrine appointed a bishop of poverty in another world, respect and greeting together with a longing to hear news from the world of believers. Even if I and my companions had done like the Prodigal Son when we fled to a distant land like the rest, fond mother Order ought at least to have remembered the sons whom she sent into unheard-of exile; for a mother's heart does not admit strict justice against a son. And below : I am a bishop though unworthy. And below: And the Father, Brother Andrew of Perugia the Bishop, and I reached Khan-baliq (Gabalech). So I speak first of the Archbishop, Brother John. His outward life is good and hard and rough. With regard indeed to that king George, it is certain that he converted him completely and laudably to the true faith, though formerly he mixed with the Nestorians. And the king himself converted several thousands of his people on one day; and if he had lived truly we should have subjected his whole people and kingdom to Christ. And the conversion too of the Khan would have done great things. In fact before Brother John, the aforesaid Archbishop, came to the empire of the great Khan no Christian, of whatever sort or nation he might be, managed to be able to set up however small an oratory and the sign of Christ, because of the power of the Nestorians who forbade it; and so they were obliged either to follow them in their schismatic and erroneous worship, or to take as it were the way of the unbelievers. But after Brother John came he built, God helping him, several churches in spite of the Nestorians. And other nations of Christians who hate the schismatic Nestorians have followed Brother John, and specially the Armenians who are now building themselves a remarkable church which they mean to give him. And so he too is continually with them and has left the Latin church to other Brothers. Moreover certain good Christians who are called Alani, receiving pay from the most great king for 20000 persons, themselves and their families come to Brother John. And he supports them and preaches. Nor do we see [him(?)]. And to these we are able to preach and to minister the sacraments of the church. Among (*circa*) the unbelievers indeed we can preach freely, and we have preached several times in the Saracens' mosque for their conversion; to the idolaters moreover in like fashion in their great cities through the medium of two interpreters. Many come together and are greatly astonished and ask carefully about these things. And as a beginning has now been made we have good hope when we see the people intent on hearing and running to where we are preaching. We truly believe that if we had their tongues wonderful works of God would be seen. The harvest truly is great but the labourers few, and with no sickle. For we are but a few brothers, and very old, and unable to learn languages. May God forgive those who hinder brothers from coming. Truly I believe that the enemy is doing this that we may not invade his empire which he holds unmolested. In Khan-baliq (Cambaliech) there are Archbishops (*sic*) and Brother Andrew of Perugia and Brother Peter of Florence, the Bishops; and in temporal things they have no lack. But in spiritual things I believe that they have never had so much, for the holy Spirit entered with a rush and came into these two Bishops, and they are so much occupied in prayers and holy meditations; and the Spirit of God, who visits them and comforts and encourages so much that they seem to have forgotten all things, waiting on the Lord day and night in holy watchings. I however, having been made bishop of Zaitun (cayfensis), am able to be at leisure for God there with three devout Brothers in peace and quietness. And the servants of God [are] Brother John Grimaldi, Brother Emmanuel of Monticulo, and Brother Ventura of Sarezana who has been made a Brother in this country, who [are] well fortified in all goodness, [and] God is honoured through them. Would that we had a hundred such with us! In the city of Zaitun (Cayton) we have a good church with a residence which a certain lady of Armenia left us, and assigned the necessaries of life for us and for others if they come. And outside the city we have a beautiful place with a wood where we wish to build cells and an oratory. We lack nothing else so much as the Brothers whom we long for. Brother Gerard the Bishop is dead, and we the other brothers cannot live long, and others have not come. The church will be left without baptism and without inhabitants. If I were to write the news and circumstances of this great empire they would not be believed, how great its power is, how large the armies, the breadth of the land, how much the revenues, how much the expenses, how much the alms they do. Our Latin friends have compared it

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[67] *Archiv für Schweizerische Geschichte*, Zurich, 1856, "Johannis Vitodurani Chronicon," pp. 208–210. cf. *Corpus Hist. Medii Aevi* etc., by J. G. Eccard, 1723, col. 1895–1897. John of Winterthur's *Chronicle* which is carried down to 1348 is in an unique MS. at St. Gall, which I have not seen. The summary gives the correct number, 40, of the foundlings as against 150 of all the earlier printed texts; and the address of the letter, "to his General of the Northern Vicariate." We can infer this address from John's second letter. Pascal of Vittoria (cf. Yule, *Cathay*, III. pp. 81–88) speaks of "Gazaria in the Vicariat of the North, and in the empire of the Tartars" and of "Sarray, a city of the Saracens of the Tartar empire, in the Vicariat of the North."

Lastly we seem to have some fragments of the original letter preserved for us here which would otherwise be lost, for the passage about the Brother being summoned to take his choristers to sing to the Khan cannot be explained as a summary or even as a vague recollection of any part of either of John's letters as they now exist.

(*eam*) in these things to all the other kings of the earth. But I do not write more. The vast city of Zaitun (Cayton) where we are is on the sea, and is distant from the vast Khan-baliq (Cambalieth) by a journey of about three months. Dated in Zaitun (Zayton), iij kalends of January in the year of the Lord 1318.[68]

18. To the Father reverend in Christ Brother Solomon, Vicar of the Minister General of the Order of Brothers Minor in the regions of the East, brother Bartholomew Custos of Tabriz [commends] himself with devout submission. You will have known that we had certain news from India about our Brothers, to wit Brother Thomas and his comrades Brother James and Brother Peter and Brother Demetrius, of which we send you a copy by the bearer of the present [narrative] which we had by word of mouth from that man who went with the aforesaid Brothers. And thus we write to you in order. When the aforesaid man had left Hormuz, that is the first port of India, with the aforesaid Brothers, the man himself stayed in a certain island to forward some business. But our Brothers above-said went to a city which is called Thana, which city this man reached on the eighth day from their suffering, namely on the Lord's Supper (16 April) in the year of the Lord 1321. The aforesaid Brothers' reason for this journey was that not finding a ship at Hormuz in which they might go to Kulam (columbis) they were obliged to go there (*i.e.* to Thana.) The aforesaid man indeed who went there after their suffering told us the story

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[68] Vatican Library, MS. Chigi I. vii. 262. fol. 102v°, 103r°. cf. *JRAS*, 1921, pp. 109–112; *New China Review*, 1920, pp. 538–543; *GB*, III. pp. 195–197; *SF* pp. 363–368. The MS. is said to be a forgery by Alfonso Ceccarelli (1532–1583), and this letter is regarded as spurious by Pelliot, Golubovich, and others. The question of the forgery of the MS. is an intricate one and cannot be dealt with in detail here. cf. *JRAS*, 1921, pp. 83–115 and references there. In any case it contains genuine matter like the letters of John of Monte Corvino and Andrew of Perugia, and it contains some Papal Bulls which are otherwise unknown and yet have not been immediately condemned as spurious; so that the authenticity of this letter must be judged on its own merits, and it does not appear to me that any really conclusive evidence has yet been produced on either side. The date is 30, or possibly 27 (uj kal.), December, 1318.

of the suffering, after everything had been carefully investigated and exactly found out, in this way.

When our aforesaid four Brothers were staying hidden in the house of a certain Christian for fear of the Saracens, it happened that a quarrel arose between the aforesaid Christian and his mate; and she resenting the beating which he inflicted went to the Cadi, that is the bishop of the Saracens, of the aforesaid city and complained bitterly of her husband. But when the Cadi was asking whether she could prove what she was saying, the woman answered that she had in her house four Franks who could bear witness about everything which she was saying; and the Cadi immediately sent for them. Brother Peter of Siena had then gone elsewhere. The Cadi began to question the other three Brothers and to ask many things about our faith, and they answered very well to all. And the Cadi seeing that he can gain no advantage in this began to lead them on to answer him about his own faith, and specially whether Mahomet was a prophet of God. And they replied that by no means was he a prophet of God. And he falling into a great rage began to insist and, brandishing as it were a naked sword over their heads, to threaten and compel them most forcibly to confess that Mahomet was God's messenger.[69] And when they altogether refused, nay asserted the opposite about him, he had a great fire prepared in the maydan (that is, the public square) of the city, and Brother James of Padua thrown in first. And because of the size of the flames he was not seen except when the wind blew the flames down, but his voice was heard that he was continually calling the blessed Virgin Mary to his help. And he stayed in the flames until the fire was totally consumed; and when the fire was burnt up and extinguished Brother James came out unhurt, so that neither a hair of the head nor a thread of the coat was burnt. But the malicious Cadi himself attributed this to the virtue of the wool of the coat and not to the goodness of God, asserting that the coat was of wool of the land of Abraham and thus the fire could not burn up him or it.

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[69] & aut magumethum confiterentur nuntium dei fuisse fortissime cogere.

And so he had the Brother completely stripped, and his head and body and the logs drenched with oil and butter, and an immense fire lighted three times as large as before, and him thrown in naked like that. And he as before remained unhurt until the fire was burnt out, the two Brothers his companions looking on and praying. But when the Cadi and Melic (that is, the ruler) of the city saw this they said, Truly these Brothers are wonderful and the truthful friends of God. And so they sent them away from the city and ordered them to go out of the province. And when they had gone out the Cadi, fearing that if the Brothers lived they would pervert all his people, sent after them four armed men who fell first upon Brother James and tried to persuade him to deny the faith of Christ, and found him most firm in the faith of Christ, till one of them brandishing a sword over [his] neck and head struck him and made him a martyr of Christ and sent him over to the reward of those above. When however Brother Thomas of Tolentino saw this he knelt down and began to pray, and one of those armed men took him by the beard and cut his throat with a sword, and so he flew with the prize of martyrdom to the heavens to Christ. And Brother Demetrius, who had lately been converted to the faith of Christ, they struck in the chest with a sword and added to the holy martyrs.

Meanwhile however the Cadi was reminded of Brother Peter of Siena, and sending for him he ordered him to be tortured unceasingly for two days, and on the third day to be hung up by the throat in a tree; and when he remained alive in the tree through one day he ordered him to be taken down and so had him killed with a sword. And thus he was united with the holy martyrs, the comrade Brothers, in crown and merit.

On the night, in truth, after the suffering of the three former Brothers there were so many and so great lightnings and thunders and floods of rain and horrible tempests in the country as never the like were heard or seen. That ship too which had brought [them] immediately sank, a thing the like of which was otherwise never heard of in that sea, namely, in the harbour where the aforesaid ship then was. The Nayb (that is, the representative of the governor and Melic of the city) falling from a horse, and the horse on top of him, was suffocated and went down to hell. The infidels indeed, seeing this, said, We see such things that we do not know what we ought to do.

And in fact certain Saracens who had come near Soldania and had been present at such great miracles, published abroad this martyrdom of the Brothers and the miracles. You will have known too that when the body of Brother James had already lain exposed for eight days it was found as fresh and undecayed and sweet as if he had been martyred the same hour. Now when the Vicar of the Brothers Preachers, Brother Nicholas of Rome, saw the letter of this Brother bearing witness, he took his journey and hastened towards India. Farewell in the Lord, &c.[70] Dated at Tabriz on the day after the Ascension of the Lord.[71]

SOURCES FOR THE TEXT OF THE LETTERS OF THE FRANCISCAN MISSIONARIES (5, 7, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 above).

The manuscripts are :—

As Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, MS. 341; c.1336. *Liber ystoriarum sancte ecclesie*

C Rome, Vatican, Biblioteca Chigiana, MS. I. vii. 262. *Incipiunt cronice fratris Joannis de Capistrano* (regarded as a 16th century forgery)

F Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Plut. LXXVII. MS. LXXIV; ?15th century.

G St. Gall, MS. containing *Johannis Vitodurani Chronicon.* 14th century.

[70] valent in domino &c *P* valete in domino. & orate. pro me.

[71] *As* fol. 134; *P* fol. 181*c*–182*b*; *L* fol. 99, 100 (with more variation). In all three MSS. the letter is closely associated with JORDAN's letter of 12 October, 1321, which is in fact the "copy" of the "certain news from India" which BARTHOLOMEW says he incloses, and the date is therefore almost certainly 21 May, 1322. cf. *New China Review*, 1921, pp. 219–226 (where the date 14 May is wrong). The Oriental words, *Melic*, *Cadi*, *Nayb* (Nabob, occurring here 300 years before the earliest instance in *O.E.D.* or *Hobson-Jobson*), *maydan*, are sufficiently explained in the text.

L London, British Museum, Cotton MS. Nero A. 9.; early 14th century.
P Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Latin 5006; c. 1337. *Incipit liber de etatibus*

The printed books are :—

A.M.(1),(2) Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum*; 1st edition, tome III. 1636; and 2nd edition, 1731, etc.
A.E. Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, tome xv, 1691.
B.O. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, tome III, part ii, 1728.
H.T.E. Mosheim, *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*, 1741.
GB G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa*, tome III. 1919.
JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1914 and 1921.
SF An. Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, Vol. I. 1929.
W Wadding, *A.M.* as above.

Letter 5 is in *P* fol. 170*d*–171*c*; *C* fol. 98 r°, v°.; *A.M.* (1) pp. 44, 45; *A.M.* (2) t. VI. pp. 69, 70; *A.E.* pp. 6, 7; *B.O.* pp. 528, 529; *H.T.E.* p. 114 sqq.; *GB* pp. 87–90; *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 546–551, 1921, pp. 85–89; *SF* pp. 345–351.

7 is in *P* fol. 171*c*–172*b*; *C* fol. 98 v°, 99 r°; *A.M.* (1) pp. 45, 46; *A.M.* (2) t. VI. pp. 71, 72, 91, 92; *B.O.* p. 530 (extracts;) *H.T.E.* pp. 116 sqq.; *GB* pp. 91–93; *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 552–557, 1921, pp. 90–94; *SF* pp. 351–355.

14 is in *As* fol. 136 r°, v°; *P* fol. 186*b*–*d*; *C* fol. 103 r°, *A.M.* (1) pp. 335, 336; *A.M.* (2) t. VII, pp. 53, 54; *A.E.* pp. 318, 319,; *B.O.* pp. 531, 532; *H.T.E.* pp. 120–123; *GB* pp. 305–308; *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 564–567, 1921, pp. 102–105; *SF* pp. 373–377.

15 is in *F* fol. 182–186; and as above, p. 203.

16 is in *G* and as above, p. 207.

17 is in *C* fol. 102 v°, 103 r°; *GB* pp. 195–197; *JRAS*, 1921, pp. 110–112; *SF* pp. 365–368.

18 is in *As* fol. 134 r°, v°; *P* fol. 181*c*–182*b*; *L* fol. 99, 100; SBARALEA, *Supplement. Script. O.F.M.*, p. 721; *GB*, II. pp. 110–112.

The best short account of the Franciscans in Central Asia and China is *Les Franciscains en Chine aux XIII^e–XIV^e Siècles* (*Xaveriana* juin, août, 1927) by Professor J. de GHELLINCK S.J. of Louvain.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

Wadding's story of the conversion of the Great Khan, to which Yule refers in *Cathay* III. p. 10, is this: "At this time and in the reign of Brother Gonsalvus († 1313) the Great Khan, Emperor of the Tartars, with his mother was converted to the Catholic Faith by the Minor Brothers, specially by Brother John of Monte Corvino after whom he came to be named John, and was baptized and soon afterwards departed from this life and was buried in the Convent of the Brothers with solemn rites like an Emperor. And when, after he had been buried for thirty years and the Brothers were departing thence because of war, he was translated to the city of Sarai, his body was found as whole and uncorrupted with clothes and the silk cushion as if he had then been buried." cf. *A.M.* (2), VI. p. 176. Yule's rather hasty identification of this Khan with Buyantu has lately been pronounced right by B. O'Toole, *John of Montecorvino* p. 38; but the story (as Golubovich pointed out in 1919) is clearly the same as the story of the conversion and burial of John Coktoganus (or Cathoganti, or Octogonti, *i.e.*, perhaps, Tokto Khan). Wadding quotes Antoninus (*Chronica* tit. 24, c. 9 § 13) of the 15th century and Marianus of the 16th; but there are at least five 14th century versions of the story, of which the two first (*L* and Cambridge U.L., D.Ii. 3. 7.—cf. *AFH*, 1923, p. 111) are nearly contemporary. cf. *GB* III. pp. 170–177.

Page 208, lines 12, 13.

The MS. reads: Et etiam magna canis mutatio facta fecisset (?). But the correction of *GB* and *SF* is probably right: . . magni . . . fuisset.—"And the conversion of the great Khan would also have been accomplished."

CHAPTER VIII

CHRISTIANS IN CHINA UNDER THE MONGOL EMPIRE FROM ORIENTAL SOURCES

THE references to Christians in China and the Mongol Empire during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which are found in contemporary Chinese books and inscriptions form an unwieldy mass of bare allusions and brief official records which it is hard to make interesting to any but enthusiastic specialists. A few representative passages will be translated and the references and dates for others given in footnotes, but even so this chapter will, it is feared, remain far from complete. With the hope of making the whole at least more easy to understand and to use the passages are arranged in groups, and those in each group are given as far as possible in their chronological order.

Two words, neither of them Chinese, were used at this time in China to describe Christians, who were for the most part Nestorians and, apparently, in the majority of cases not native Chinese. It has been seen above how at Chên-chiang one of these words was used as a national rather than as a religious term, and how Marco Polo in the newly discovered text, Z, frequently describes the Christians both in central Asia and in China as Turks. The first word is *Tieh-hsieh*, the Persian *Tarsā*, which means "quakers" or "those who fear", and is applied (not always in contempt) by Moslems to Christians and by Christians to idolaters.[1] *Tarssia* is marked on the Catalan map of A.D. 1375 as the place from which the "Three Wise Kings" came,[2] and John of Monte Corvino uses *litteris Tursicis* (v.l. *tarsicis*) for some non-Chinese, possibly Uigur, script. "Now the tribe of Naiman were mostly Christians (*tarsā*)" we read in the *Jahán Kushai*,[3] and we meet with the word in the travels of the Taoist Ch'ang-ch'un: "On the second day of the ninth month (19 September, 1221) they travelled westward. On the fourth day they lodged east of Lun-t'ai. The leader of the *tieh-hsieh* came to welcome [them]." [4]

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[1] PELLIOT refers to F. W. K. MÜLLER, *Uigurica*, II. pp. 76, 81, for *trs* in the sense of "heretical". cf. pp. 7, 10, 45, 178 above.

[2] *Çathay*, new ed., map at end of vol. 2.

Mangu, whose mother was a Christian, summed up a religious controversy which had taken place in his presence at Sira ordo on 29 September, 1256, in these words: Now the *Hsien-shêng* say that Taoist teaching is the most lofty; the *Hsiu-ts'ai* say that the sect of the scholars is the first; the *Tieh-hsieh* honour Mi-shih-hê (Messiah) and speak of obtaining birth into heaven; the *Ta-shih-man* (*Danish-mends* or *Mullahs*) call out into space and thank Heaven for his gifts. If one carefully studies the foundations, none of these can easily be compared to Buddha. Then the Emperor raised his hand and made a comparison and said, As the five fingers all spring from the palm, so the Buddhist Church is like the palm, the rest are all like fingers.[5]

Tarsā is not indeed common at this period in China itself, and the evidence of its continued use by Moslems is of later date. Early in the seventeenth century Ricci wrote: The Mahometans, besides the name of *Isai* which means followers of Jesus, also call those Christians *Terzai;* and I have heard an Armenian say that in Persia they call the Armenians so.[6] And we read in a Moslem book: The two families are the *Chu-hu-tê* (Jews) and the *T'ê-êrh-sa* (*Tarsā*). The *T'ê-êrh-sa* are disciples of *Êrh-sa* (Jesus).[7]

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[3] Ney Elias and E. D. Ross, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, 1898, p. 290.

[4] *Ch'ang ch'un chên jên hsi yu chi* (ed. Commercial Press) c. 1. fol. 18 v°. cf. Palladius, *Chinese Recorder*, 1875, p. 106; Chavannes, T'oung-pao, 1904, p. 382; etc. Lun-t'ai is described as 300 *li* west of Pieh-ssŭ-ma (Bishbaliq, Urumtsi, or Ti-hua) and east of the "Uigur city of Ch'ang-pa-la (Jambaliq)".

[5] *Pien wei lu* (A.D. 1291) c. 3 (in *Taisho Tripitaka* vol. 52 p. 770*c*). cf. Palladius, *Chinese Recorder*, 1875, p. 105; Chavannes, *T'oung-pao*, 1904, pp. 381, 382. cf. also W. W. Rockhill, *William of Rubruck*, 1900, pp. 228–236.

[6] *Opere Stor*:, I. p. 88. cf. also p. 7 above, where Ricci speaks of Terza as the name of a country. *Tieh-hsieh* occurs, I am told, in the *Yüan tien chang* and in the *Yüan ch'ao pi shih*, but I have not found the exact references. And Pelliot points out that *Tarsā* and Uigur became almost synonymous; Persian historians calling people Uigurs simply because they were Christians, and Hayton calling the land of the Uigurs "the kingdom of Tharse". cf. *T'oung-pao*, 1914, p. 636.

The second and more usual word for Christians is *Yeh-li-k'o-wên* (*Ärḳägün*). The *Jahán Kushai* in the thirteenth century explains, according to d'Ohsson, that Christians were called *arcaun* by the Mongols. Chinese authors use the word to mean a Nestorian, or simply a Christian, monk, or, less exactly, a Christian; giving the impression and occasionally explicitly stating that they regard it as much as a national as a religious term; and while the origin of the word remains obscure, the meaning may be considered certain.[8]

PASSAGES EXTRACTED FROM CONTEMPORARY CHINESE BOOKS OR EXTANT INSCRIPTIONS

I. Examples of the use of the word *Yeh-li-k'o-wên*.

1. Chung-t'ung . . 3 year . . 3 month . . *chi-wei* (24 March, 1262): able-bodied men of the *Mu-su-man*, *Wei-wu-êrh*, *Yeh-li-k'o-wên*, and *Ta-shih-man* families are enrolled as soldiers.[9]

2. Chih-yüan first year, first month, in spring . . *kuei-mao* (26 February, 1264), it was ordered that artisans who have enrolled themselves as citizens should all pay taxes; that the families of the *Ju* (Confucian scholars), *Shih* (Buddhist monks), *Tao* (Taoist monks), *Yeh-li-k'o-wên*, and

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[7] *T'ien fang chih shêng shih lu nien p'u*, c. 1700, fol. 10.

[8] *History of the Moghuls*, etc. p. 290 n.; D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongoles*, II. pp. 234, 235, 264. It has been conjectured that the word is a transcription of the Greek ἄρχων, or of the colloquial Syriac ܐܪܟܘܢ *arkun*, an Archdeacon, or that it is connected with the Turkish *arkhun*, "fair-complexioned." It is probably not the same as Marco Polo's *argon*. cf. Devéria, *Notes d' Épigraphie*, pp. 41, 80–82; Chavannes, *T'oung-pao*, 1904, p. 420(7); Pelliot, *T'oung-pao*, 1914, p. 636.

[9] *YS* (= *Yüan shih*) c. 5 fol. 1v°. This and the following passages from the *Yüan shih* are translated from the "Southern Edition" of the 16th century (a copy of which I owe to the kindness of my brother G. T. Moule), but the references are to the leaves of the edition published at Shanghai in 1908 by the Chi ch'êng t'u shu kung ssŭ. In this and in several of the subsequent passages the editions of 1739 and later use the unfortunate reformed transcription: *Mu-su-ai-man* (Musulman), *Hui-ho-êrh* (Uigur), *I-lu-lê-kun* (Christian), and *Ta-shih-mi* (Danishmend; cf. *T'oung-pao*, 1930, p. 16).

Ta-shih-man, formerly exempt from land-tax and custom, should now all pay them.[10]

3. Chung-t'ung . . 5 year (1264) it was decreed that *Sêng* (Buddhist monks), *Tao, Yeh-li-k'o-wên, Ta-shih-man,* and *Ju* people who engage in agriculture should pay taxes at the rate of 3 *shêng* a *mu* on white lands and 5 *shêng* a *mu* on water lands. Those who served on military post duty were to be exempt from taxation on 4 ch'ing (= 400 *mu*) of land; the remainder all to be taxed.[11]

4. In the strength of eternal Heaven: in the blessed protection of the Emperor: The decree of the Imperial son, the Prince of An-hsi, addressed to the military officers and to the troops, to the *darugha* officers of the sub-prefectural capitals and district cities, and to the couriers who come and go, throughout the provinces.

The Prince's decree.

In the divine decrees of the Emperor Ch'êng-chi-ssŭ (Chingis) and of the Emperor Hsia-han (Qagan, *i.e.* Ogotai): *Ho-shang* (Buddhist monks), *Yeh-li-k'o-wên, Hsien-shêng, Ta-shih-man*, are not to be charged with land tax, merchandise tax, or any requisition whatever, but let them address Heaven and pray for blessings; thus it was said. Now, according to the precepts of the foregoing divine decrees—

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[10] *YS* c. 5 fol. 7v°. For the text of this decree see *Yüan tien chang*, c. 24 fol. 1. Confucian scholars seem to have been regarded as a sect in the middle ages and they were distinguished by their high hats (*Var. Sin.* 21. p. 149). They were known as in modern times as *Hsien shêng*, but in the Yüan dynasty that term was also applied, as we have seen, to the Taoists. There is evidence that both Buddhist and Christian monks sometimes broke the rule of celibacy. cf. also *YS* c. 5 fol. 7r° and p. 224 and note just below.

[11] *YS* c. 93 fol. 4r°. This from the section on Taxation may refer to the decree of 26 Feb., but the provisions are not quite the same: *Shêng* is about 1½ pint; *mu* about 1 sixth of an acre. *White* and *water* lands may be dry and flooded arable lands respectively, but I have not found the expressions used in this way except here and in the decree of Feb., 1264.

YS c. 7 fol. 2v° (19 Sept., 1270; married monks to be registered as laymen); *YTC* c. 23 fol. 16 (March, 1272; Christians etc. to plant elm, willow, or *huai* trees, according to locality, round all cities, along banks of streams, sides of post roads, and by inns); *YTC* c. 23 fol. 19r° (March, 1272; monks to be employed repairing weirs and locks in leisure times of year); *YTC* c. 23 fol. 1 (April, 1273; revival of Superintendents of Agriculture).

they are not to be charged with land tax, merchandise tax, or any requisition whatever, but let them address Heaven and pray for blessings; thus.—this Prince's decree is thus given to be observed and obeyed to the true-man Chiang, the true-man Tung, deputy of the chief,[12] the hsien-shêng Chiao, who are the directors of the temple of Yao, the temple of Sovereign Earth, and the temple of King Yü, which are in the prefecture of P'ing-yang, and the chief of those who pray for blessings: In the temples and houses of these men official couriers shall not lodge, supply of post horses shall not be exacted, field produce and goods shall not be taken by force. With regard to these *hsien-shêng* let no one have the assurance to act contrary to these regulations. If any one acts contrary to these regulations, shall he not have cause to fear?

Our Prince's edict.

The year of the Rat, the first month, the 26 day (12 Feb., 1276), in the time of our stay at Ching-chao fu it was written.[13]

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[12] CHAVANNES calls this expression (*t'i t'ou li* which he renders "qui remplace son prédécesseur(?)") *fort obscure*. There seems to have been a system, at any rate in the Ming dynasty, by which every prince had a "substitute monk" (cf. *Tz'ŭ yüan* s.v. t'i sêng), and it is just possible that this obscure phrase is to be explained by reference to some such practice.

[13] E. CHAVANNES, *Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie Chinoises de l'époque Mongole*, 2de série, No. xliii (*T'oung-pao*, 1908, pp. 373, 376–381, Pl. 19). This inscription was in September, 1907, in the Shên Yü temple on the little island at the mouth of the Lung mên gorge in the Yellow River. The inscription is in Mongol, in accordance with the decree of 21 August, 1272 (cf. *YS* c. 7 fol. 7v°), followed by a translation in Chinese in the peculiar colloquial style which was used for official documents at the time. cf. *Inscriptions et pièces etc.* (*T'oung-pao*, 1904, 1905, 1908) passim. Ching-chao was the name of Hsi-an at that time. In the T'ang dynasty the place had been known as Yung chou, Kuan-nei, or Ching-chao, and also as Hsi-ching, Chung-ching, or Shang-tu. Other names were Yung-p'ing in the later Liang, Chin-ch'ang in the later Chin, and Yung-hsing in the Sung dynasties. The name was changed to An-hsi in 1279, and to Fêng-yüan in 1312. cf. *Kuang yü hsing shêng* vol. 2; *YS* c. 60 fol. 1. In the long list of similar documents which follows none is addressed primarily to a Christian monastery; nor are the decrees of Chingis, which are regularly referred to, in which privileges are granted to Christian monks, extant. The list is taken from CHAVANNES, *op. cit.*, and CH'ÊN Yüan, *Yüan yeh li k'o wên k'ao*, 1917, fol. 18, 19; (the date, place, and (for those taken from *T'oung-pao*) number are given):

5. T'ien-li . . second year . . 3 month . . *ting-ch'ou* (19 April, 1329) . . *Sêng, Tao, Yeh-li-k'o-wên, Chu-hu* (Jews), and *Ta-shih-man*, who engage in trade shall pay custom according to the old rule.[14]

6. Ma Ya-hu was of the *Yeh-li-k'o-wên* clan. He was poor. He served his step-mother, Chang, and his father's subordinate wife, Lü, and was able to perform all the duties of a son.[15]

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1. April, 1223, Wei-hsien; 2. Feb., 1235, Ch'ü-fou; 3. Aug., 1235, Wei-hsien; 4. May, 1261, Lu-i; 5. May, 1261, Ling-pao; 6. March, 1266, ?; 7. Oct., 1269, Pao-chi; 8. March, 1275, Han-ch'êng; 9. 12 Feb., 1276, Lung mên, xliii; 10. Aug., 1293, Chao-chou; 11. 15 July, 1296, Chang-tê, xlvi; 12. 28 Aug., 1296, Chang-tê, xlvii; 13. 23 Feb., 1297, Chang-tê, xlviii; 14. 16 Sept., 1302(1305), P'u-chou, l; 15. Feb., 1304 (Nov., 1314), Têng-fêng; 16. July, 1309 (Nov., 1314), Têng-fêng; 17. 8 Oct., 1309, Fên-chou, lii; 18. 19 Aug., 1311, Ta-li, ix; 19. April, 1312 (Nov., 1314), Têng-fêng; 20. Dec., 1313 (Nov., 1314), Têng-fêng; 21. 8 Sept., 1314, Chou-chih, x; 22. 8 Sept., 1314, Shan-ying, liv; 23. June, 1316, Têng-fêng?; 24. 23 May, 1318(1319), T'ung-chou, lv; 25. 1319, Ho-yang; 26. 5 Nov., 1321, Wei-hui, lvi; 27. Nov., 1323, Ching-yang; 28. 10 Nov., 1324, T'ai-an, xvii; 29. April, 1326, ?; 30. Sept., 1326, ?; 31. 1254(?), An-yang; 32. 1333, Pao-ting (*T'oung-pao*, 1904, p. 414); 33. 7 Aug., 1335, ?, xiii; 34. 15 Sept., 1335, Wei-hui, lvii; 35. 21 April, 1337, Hsiang-yang, lviii; 36. 1348, Têng-fêng; 37. 1351, Chou-chih. This list is fairly representative but not complete. It is curious that the dates do not agree exactly with the dates of any of the decrees referring to Christians which are recorded in *YS* or *YTC*.

[14] *YS* c. 33 fol. 3v°. PALLADIUS, *JNCBRAS*, 1876, p. 38, says that this is the first mention of Jews in *YS*, and refers to c. 43 fol. 4v° where it is recorded that wealthy Moslems and Jews (*Chu-hu*) were ordered to go to the capital and join the army. As it is the first mention of Jews so it is the last mention of Christians in the Annals (*pên chi*) of *YS*.

[15] *YS* c. 197 fol. 6r°. CHAVANNES, *T'oung-pao*, 1904, p. 420, suggests Mar Jacob as a possible transcription of Ma Ya-hu and draws attention to the use of *Yeh-li-k'o-wên* as a national term. With this use which we have already met and shall meet again it is interesting to compare the words of W. of Rubruck: The name of a *Christian* seemeth unto them (the Mongols) to be the name of some nation. cf. HAKLUYT, *Principal Navigations*, I. p. 107. Reference to an inscription by Ma Tsu-ch'ang (*Yüan wên lei* c. 67 fol. 8r°) makes it probable that Ma was an adopted surname and that Ya-hu was the Ya-ku "who obtained a name for piety", there mentioned as grandson of Ma Yüeh-ho-nai and cousin or uncle of Tsu-ch'ang. There is nothing in either place to show the exact date of Ma Ya-hu, who is one of a list of dutiful step-sons.

For the remaining passages in this section references will be enough: *YTC* c. 33 fol. 8r° (Dec., 1277; ref. to former exemptions); *YS* c. 12 fol. 2r° (25 May, 1282; Christians to be granted grain like Buddhists); *YS* c. 17 fol. 4v° (17 Aug., 1292; Christians no longer to be enrolled as

II. Examples of passages in which places are named.

The earliest reference to Christians in a specified locality is perhaps in a passage dealing with the provision of horses by the Christians and others in the circuits of Tung-p'ing, Tai-ming, and Ho-nan in 1263;[16] but the two most important passages, which are given or referred to below, are of later dates.

7. *Yeh-li-k'o-wên* Religion.

Yeh-li-k'o-wên are prohibited from usurping precedence in public worship.

In the eighth Ta-tê year (1304) the provincial government of Chiang-chê received instructions from the Metropolitan Government who reported that the Board of Rites had had the honour to receive a report from the Hsing-p'an of the Chi-hsien yüan notifying a report which had been made by the Taoist church of the circuits (*lu*) south of the River (*Chiang nan*) [to the effect that] in the circuit of Wên-chou there were *yeh-li-k'o-wên* who had established an office (*ya-mên*) for the Church-control Board (*Chang chiao ssŭ*), inviting the people to rank as members of their church and proceeding to take professors of [Taoist] magic and convert

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soldiers); *Yüan t'ung chih t'iao ko* c. 29 (1293; Christian monks engaged in large business to pay taxes); *YTC* c. 22 fol. 74v° (26 Sept., 1293; No. 5 of "23 shipping regulations" orders Christian and other monks to pay duty like other people); *YTC* c. 33 fol. 1r° (10 June, 1294; Christians exempted from imposts); *YTCTK* c. 29 (1301; Christians and Moslems to pay taxes while Buddhists remain exempt); *YTCTK* c. 29 (8 May, 1304; Christians engaged in agriculture or trade to pay taxes); *YS* c. 22 fol. 8v° (23 Jan., 1308; Christians to pay taxes); *YTC* c. 33 fol. 1 (May, 1311; abolition of local offices for control of Christians and others); *YTC* c 53 fol. 11r° (ref. to above decree of 14 May, 1311); *YTCTK* c. 29 (23 May, 1312; Christians to pay taxes except on specified old possessions); *YTC* c. 59 fol. 3v° (31 Jan., 1314; Christians etc. to plant elm, willow, or *huai* trees, according to locality, round all cities from Tai-tu downwards, along banks of streams, and sides of post-roads, and by inns); *YS* c. 29 fol. 4r° (22 March., 1324; Christians to observe their religious vows); *YS* c. 29 fol. 7v° (13 Dec., 1324; exemption from forced labour).

[16] *Yüan shih i wên chêng pu* c. 29, quoting the section of the obsolete *Ching shih ta tien* on the Department of Horses (*Ma chêng*). Mr CH'EN, to whose *Yüan yeh li k'o wên k'ao* fol. 13r° I owe this reference, draws attention to the existence of Christians in southern Shan-tung and Shan-hsi before the fall of the Sung; but the Sung had lost these places more than a century before 1263.

them, so gradually usurping power and authority. And in the places for prayer for the Emperor and the places of supplication they insisted on wishing to put themselves above the *hsien-shêng*, going to the extreme of disputing and of taking the *hsien-shêng* persons and beating them, which was gravely inconvenient. Therefore they prayed [the Chi-hsien yüan] to hand on the report to the superior authority that they might put a stop to this. Upon receipt of this report it was found that south of the River from old times until now there had only been the two churches, *sêng* (Buddhist) and *tao* (Taoist), each with its jurisdiction; there had been no *yeh-li-k'o-wên* church besides. Since from recent years there had been in each circuit a class of men who eluded the police seeking asylum by ranking themselves as members of this church and then proceeding in each place to establish an office and also gradually usurping power and authority by taking the professors of magic in the *tao* church, this really could not be allowed. Therefore they reported and begged for an inquiry. On receipt of this they humbly obtained the president's decision and sent the considered judgement of the Board of Rites, that the order of [imperial] audiences, festivals, and congratulations must forthwith be followed, and [the place of] the *yeh-li-k'o-wên* will only be reached after the prayers and praises of the *ho-shang* (Buddhists) and *hsien-shêng* (Taoists). Since they have presumed to entice and receive persons on their own authority beyond what is consistent with the established law and to usurp authority over the professors of magic, the said circuit (*tao*) and province should be instructed to publish strict additional prohibitions. . . . On receipt of this the Metropolitan authorities gave instructions [to the provincial authorities] requesting them to act accordingly and to issue prohibitions in accordance with the above and in turn to instruct all their subordinates and the Offices (*lu ssŭ*) of the *sêng* and the Church-control Boards (*chang chiao ssŭ*) of the *yeh-li-k'o-wên* to act in accordance with the above.[17]

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[17] *YTC* c. 33 fol. 14. I am indebted to Professor Pelliot for my knowledge of this passage and some of those referred to in the notes.

From these passages and those referred to in the notes we find that there were Christians in the provinces of

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Almost all the other references in this chapter will be found in articles by CHAVANNES, CH'ÊN, DEVÉRIA, PALLADIUS, or PARKER. To the last I was obliged for help in finding my way through the intricate technicalities of the present passage. The Chi-hsien yüan, of which the artist Chao Mêng-fu was then a member, was the proper authority for religious ceremonies other than Buddhist. cf. *YS* c. 87 fol. 3r°, where however the *hsing-p'an* is not mentioned. Among the many things managed by the Board of Rites " the affairs of Buddhist and Taoist monks " are specified. cf. *YS* c. 85 fol. 9v°. It is curious that in this dispute no reference is made to the Ch'ung-fu ssŭ (p. 225 below). The Buddhists do not seem to have been directly involved. This is, as far as I know, the only mention in a Chinese author of converts to Christianity, and it is interesting if sad to notice that the official protection afforded to the monks exposed them to the same difficulties and perhaps libellous charges which are experienced by modern missionaries.

Other references are: *YS* c. 98 fol. 3v° (March, 1267; Christians exempted from military service in P'ing-yang and T'ai-yüan); *YS* c. 9 fol. 4v° (19 July, 1276; Christians at Hsi-ching who had homes and families to pay taxes. Hsi-ching or Ta-t'ung was probably a stronghold of Christianity, being near the headquarters of king George); *YS* c. 12 fol. 4v° (4 Nov., 1282; Christians in Ho-hsi (Tangut, p. 100 above) who had wives and houses to pay taxes); *Yüan shih i wên* c. 29 (1287; When the Christian monks of Chiang-nan travel they ride in sedans and those who keep horses are few); *YTC* c. 24 fol. 12 (June, 1293; Edict restraining Christians and other monks from illegally evading taxation in Chiang-chê); *YTC* c. 24 fol. 12, 13 (May–June, 1295; regulations for the payment of land-tax by Christians and others in Tibet (Hsi-fan), North China (?Han êrh), Uigur land, Yün-nan, and Chiang-nan; and of excise, without stating where); *YTCTK* c. 29 (1300; Christian monks in the provinces of Ho-nan, Chê-chiang, and Shàn-hsi (Shensi) who trade must pay taxes); *YS* c. 23 fol. 2v° (31 July, 1309; Petition by the Buddhist Board (Hsüan-chêng yüan) for exemption from taxation for Buddhists, Taoists, Christians, and Moslems in Ho-nan and Chiang-chê is refused); *YTC* c. 36 fol. 36v°–38; (August, 1317; a long decree about the supply of post-horses to carry wine, in which a Christian monastery (*yeh-li-k'o-wên shih tzŭ ssŭ*) at Yang-chou is said to have been founded " long ago " by the father of Ao-la-han (Abraham), a *Yeh-a-wên* man, and the Ch'ung-fu yüan is repeatedly mentioned. cf. *T'oung-pao*, 1914, p. 638); *YTC* suppl: *hu pu* fol. 35 v° (July, 1320; *Hui-hui* (Moslems), *yeh-li-k'o-wên*, *chu-hu* (Jews), *ta-shih-man*, in Chiang-hsi, except those in actual charge of temples, to pay taxes); *YS* c. 32 fol. 4v° (22 Oct., 1328; *Yeh-li-k'o-wên* were ordered to conduct a service in the Shên-yü Hall of the empress Hsien-i-chuang-shêng. This was Sorhatani, niece of Prester John and mother of Mangu and Kubilai; the posthumous title having been conferred in January, 1310. The shên-yü halls were the halls where the imperial portraits were kept, and where sacrifices were offered to the deceased members of the imperial family on the 1, 8, 15, and 23 days of each month. cf. *YS* cc. 106 fol. 3v°; 116 fol. 1r°; 75

Chiang-chê, Chiang-hsi, Chiang-nan, Han-êrh (? N. China), Ho-hsi (Tangut), Ho-nan, Shàn-hsi (Shensi), Tibet, Uiguria, Yün-nan, and in these circuits (*lu*) or towns: Ho-fei, Ho-nan, Kan chou, Ku-su (Su-chou on the Grand Canal), P'ing-yang, Tai-ming, Ta-t'ung (Hsi-ching), T'ai-yüan, Tung-p'ing, Wên-chou, Yang-chou. To this list we may certainly add Khan-baliq (p. 94 above), Chên-chiang, Fu-chou (?), Hang-chou, Zaitun, and other places where Christians are mentioned by Marco Polo, and on page 159 above.

III. The *Ch'ung fu ssŭ.*

The passage relating to Ao-la-han and the Christian monastery at Yang-chou, which is summarized in the foot-note on page 139, has introduced us to one of the most interesting proofs of the presence of Christians in China at this time, namely the Ch'ung fu yüan or Ch'ung fu ssŭ. This was a government department created for the purpose of dealing with the Christian clergy, and is described as follows:

8. CH'UNG FU SSŬ: an administration of the second class. It controls the sacrifices and like affairs in the

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fol. 8, where this hall is not named because, perhaps, it was far off in Kan-su); *YS* c. 38 fol. 5v° (7 April, 1335; petition for fixing the ceremonial for sacrifice to Kubilai's mother in the Christian monastery in Kan chou (p. 132 above) granted; she seems to have died early in 1252); *Yüan yeh li k'o wên k'ao* fol. 5r°, quoting the *Ch'ing yang chi* by Yü̆ Ch'üeh, 14th cent., c. 3 (c. 1353; an inscription commemorating the good deeds of Ma Shih-tê, *style* Yüan-ch'ên, "of the *yeh-li-k'o-wên* kingdom", in building the walls of Ku-su (Su-chou) and Ho-fei in the modern An-hui. Ma had taken the *chin shih* degree and held posts in the Han-lin college, etc. Yü̆ Ch'üeh was a Tangutese "born and bred" at Ho-fei where his father had been governor. cf. CH'ÊN Yüan, *Yüan hsi yü jên hua hua k'ao* I. cc. 2 fol. 12–18; 3 fol. 16–20; 4 fol. 3, 4, 13, where it appears that Ma Shih-tê as well as the well known Ma Tsu-ch'ang and other Christians attained to greater or less literary fame. cf. PELLIOT, *T'oung-pao*, 1914, p. 630, where we learn that Ma Tsu-ch'ang, un des plus célèbres écrivains "chinois" du XIVe siècle, was great-great-grandson of Ma Ch'ing-hsiang or Särgis and great-grandson of Yohanan (Yüeh-ho-nai), for whom he wrote a memorial inscription which is extant (*Yüan wên lei*, c. 67 fol. 6v°–8v°) and full of interest. cf. also *YS* c. 143 fol. 1; *Chin shih* c. 124 fol. 1. The Ma family was Öngüt and included an *Ao-la-han*, governor of Yang-tzŭ (I-chêng), who may have been also governor of Tan-t'u (p. 158) and possibly the same man who was afterwards at Yang-chou). cf. Fig. 18.

monasteries of the Cross of the *ma-êrh ha-hsi* (*mar hasia* or Bishops) and *lieh-pan yeh-li-k'o-wên* (*rabban ärkägün*). [The staff consists of] Presidents, four officers of the lower grade of the second rank; Assistant Directors, two officers of the lower grade of the third rank; Vice-presidents, two officers of the lower grade of the fourth rank; Assessors, two officers of the lower grade of the fifth rank; Chief of employees, one officer of the lower grade of the sixth rank; Manager, one officer of the lower grade of the seventh rank; Deputy chief of employees, one officer of the upper grade of the eighth rank; Annalists, two men; Translator, Interpreter, Chancellor, each one man; Couriers, two men. It was founded in the 26 Chih-yüan year, raised to be a *yüan* in the second Yen-yu year,[18] constituted with one Director of the affairs of the office. All the seventy-two Church-control Boards (*chang chiao ssŭ*) of the *yeh-li-k'o-wên* in the empire were abolished and all their affairs referred to it. In the seventh year it again became a *ssŭ*, and later it was decided to appoint the above officers.[19]

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[18] cf. *YS* c. 15 fol. 7r°, where the establishment of the Ch'ung fu ssŭ, lower grade of the second class, is dated 6 March, 1289; and c. 25 fol. 4r°, promotion to be a *yüan* of the upper grade of 2nd class, 19 August, 1315.

[19] *YS* c. 89 fol. 15v°. cf. *YS* c. 27 fol. 2v°, where the return to the lower grade and to the title *ssŭ* is recorded under the date 29 April, 1320. This passage was first published by Visdelou in Herbelot, *Bibliothéque Orientale*, La Haye, 1779, tome IV. p. 317 (Yule-Cordier, *Marco Polo*, I. p. 290) and then by Palladius, *Chin. Recorder*, 1875, p. 106. For *ma-êrh ha-hsi* etc., cf. pp. 147, 150 above. *Chang chiao ssŭ* (cf. p. 222 above) is rendered "diocese" by Devéria. Whatever may have been the exact nature of the institution from the Christian point of view, it was evidently one which had obtained official recognition and was regarded as regulating the affairs of the Christian monasteries. In the very elaborate but apparently incomplete list of ranks and offices in *YTC* c. 7 the President (*shih*) and Manager (*tu shih*) of the Ch'ung fu ssŭ are entered under the lower grade of the 2nd class (fol. 3r°) and 7th class (fol. 24r°) respectively. In *YS* c. 24 fol. 9r° we read that 100 ch'ing (1700 acres) of crown land in Ho-nan was granted to the Ch'ung fu ssŭ on 12 July, 1312. An earlier suppression, presumably not enforced, of the Boards (*ssŭ*) of the Christians, etc., is recorded in *YS* c. 24 fol. 4r°, on 14 May, 1311. The statement in *YS* c. 75 fol. 8 that at one time the sacrifices to the imperial ancestors in the shên-yü halls were managed by the Ch'ung fu and Shu hsiang yüan is clearly wrong (*ch'ung* being a misprint for *hui*) as will be seen from c. 82 fol. 2v°, c. 87 fol. 11r°, and c. 32 fol. 4v° where the suppression of the Hui fu and Shu

In the chapter of the *Yüan shih* devoted to examinations there is this note on the rank of the officials in the Ch'ung fu ssŭ:

9. The Ch'ung fu ssŭ being an administration of the same class as the Tu hu fu and Ch'üan fu ssŭ, the members of the staff appointed rank as follows: those who are promoted by the Central Government or by the Boards, on completion of the examination, take office in the upper grade of the seventh class; those who are independent, one degree lower.[20]

And we even know their salaries:

10. Ch'ung fu ssŭ: A President receives 82666 cash and 8 *shih* of rice; an Assistant Director receives 70000 cash and 7·5 *shih* of rice; a Vice-president receives 59330 cash and 6 *shih* of rice; an Assessor receives 39330 cash and 3·5 *shih* of rice; the Chief of employees receives 28000 cash and 3 *shih* of rice; the Manager receives 26066 cash and 2·5 *shih* of rice; the Deputy Chief of employees receives 22000 cash and 2 *shih* of rice.[21]

The names of some of the men who served on the Ch'ung fu ssŭ have been preserved. Thus we read:

11. [Chih-chêng] *mou-hsü*, 18th year: Ma-mou-huo-chê [was appointed Ts'an chih chêng shih]; in the eleventh

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hsiang yüan is recorded, 19 Oct., 1328. In the same way Hui fu, Ch'ung fu, Lung hsi (c. 92 fol. 2v°) should be Hui fu, Ch'ung hsiang, Lung hsi. cf. c. 87 fol. 11, 12. CHAVANNES, *T'oung-pao*, 1904, p. 375, quotes what he regards as a mention of a Christian monastery called Ch'ung fu ssŭ at an unidentified place named Hun-yüan. It comes in a list of Buddhist monasteries which had been seized by the Taoists about 1251, and the words seem to me to mean "the Taoist monastery west of Hun-yüan, originally the Ch'ung-fu ssŭ" rather than "the monastery of the western religion at Hun-yüan, etc."

[20] *YS* c. 84 fol. 3v°. The paragraph is headed, "All officers on completion of examination are appointed to the upper grade of the 7th class." The Ch'ung fu ssŭ nevertheless, as has been seen, included officers (as distinguished from "men") of lower ranks; presumably those who had not passed all the examinations or completed the required terms of subordinate service. The regulations are far too elaborate to be given here, and of the meanings of some of the words used I am not quite sure.

[21] *YS* c. 96 fol. 6r°. A *kuan* or string of 1000 cash was nominally equal to 1 *liang* or Chinese ounce of silver; now (1929) 2*s*. 3*d*. A *shih* contains about 150 pints; or roughly 2½ bushels.

month (December, 1358), having resigned the Presidency of the Ch'ung fu ssŭ.[22]

IV. The Christian Ai-hsieh.[23]

12. Ai-hsieh was a man of Fu-lin in the Western lands. He was familiar with the languages of all the tribes of the Western lands, and was learned in astronomy and medicine. He first served Ting Tsung (Güyük) and ventured to remonstrate with him directly. At that time Shih Tsu (Kubilai) was still an imperial prince, and he valued him highly. In the 4th Chung-t'ung year (1263) he ordered him to take charge of the Offices of Western Astronomy and of Medicine. [The latter] was afterwards changed into the Kuang hui ssŭ and he was again ordered to direct it. Shih Tsu once issued a decree that there should be a great religious performance at the capital, and collected professional musicians and singers before whom he intended to have the imperial insignia carried. Ai-hsieh presented a petition saying: Kao-li (Korea) has recently submitted, Shan-tung is only beginning to be pacified, Chiang-nan is not yet subdued; the empire is wearied and impoverished. This useless extravagance ought by no means to be mentioned. The Emperor graciously accepted the petition. In the 5th

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[22] *YS* c. 113 fol. 9v°. Chapters 112, 113 of *YS* are entitled *Tsai hsiang nien piao* or Chronological Tables of Ministers of State, and give the names of the Ministers for every year from 1206 to 1368. A note in smaller print is added in several cases giving the month of the appointment and the post previously held. The name Ma-mou-huo-chê, probably Mahmud Khoja, suggests a Moslem and it is surprising to find him as President of the Christian Ch'ung fu ssŭ, but there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the text. Ai-hsieh himself is called a Moslem (*hui-hui*) in *YS* c. 8 fol. 1r°. For others who held office in the Ch'ung fu ssŭ see pp. 229, 230.

For the *yeh-li-k'o-wên* of India see p. 25 above. Professor PELLIOT tells me that *yeh-li-k'o-wên* come just above *Mu-su-man* (Musulman) in the list of the kingdoms of the Indian Ocean in the *Ching shih ta tien hsü lu* or Introduction to the *Ching shih ta tien* (in *Yüan wên lei* c. 41 fol. 20v°). The *Ching shih ta tien*, which is not itself extant, was finished in 1332. cf. PELLIOT, *BEFEO*, IX. p. 130; BRETSCHNEIDER, *Med. Res.*, 1910, II. pp. 3 sqq. and map; *YS* c. 35 fol. 7r°.

For the references to the mission of Marignolli see p. 257 below.

[23] For references to this man in Persia see p. 107 above.

Chih-yüan year (1268) he accompanied an [imperial] hunt at Pao-ting. When many days had been passed in pleasure, he addressed the people who were helping in the presence of the Emperor and said: Can this fail to hinder your ploughing? The Emperor stopped the hunt. In the 13th Chih-yüan year (1276) the Ch'êng-hsiang Pai-yen (Bayan) came back from the pacification of Chiang-nan, and certain evil officials slandered him with light words. Ai-hsieh, with his head on the earth, remonstrated and obtained his pardon. He afterwards received an order sending him as an envoy to the place of the imperial prince of the north-west, A-lu-hun (Arghun). On his return he was asked to do homage as P'ing-chang-chêng-shih, but declined the honour. He was promoted to be President of the Pi shu chien and of the Ch'ung fu ssŭ. He was moved to be President of the Han lin and Board of History. In the 1st Ta-tê year (1297) he was appointed P'ing-chang-chêng-shih. In the 8th year (1304) there was an earthquake at the capital. The Emperor being displeased summoned him to the private apartments and asked if this miraculous calamity was not surely due to the faults of his subjects. He replied: How should Heaven and Earth declare rebukes to the people? When Ch'êng Tsung died (11 February, 1307) an edict of the Empress ordered him to consult the secret courses of the stars. Ai-hsieh sternly refused to do so. In the reign of Jên Tsung (7 April, 1311–1 March, 1320) he was created Ch'in kuo kung, and died. He was granted the posthumous titles of T'ai shih, K'ai fu i t'ung san ssŭ, Shang chu kuo, and Fu lin chung hsien wang ("Loyal and learned Prince of Fu lin"). His sons were five: Yeh-li-ya (Elijah), Ch'in kuo kung, President of the Ch'ung fu ssŭ; Tien-ho (Denha), President of the Han lin yüan; Hei-ssŭ (Issa), President of the Kuang lu ssŭ; K'o-li-chi-ssŭ (George), Assistant Director of the Ch'üan fu yüan; Lu-ho (Luke), President of the Kuang hui ssŭ.[24]

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[24] *YS* c. 134 fol. 3v°. cf. *Yüan shih lei pien* c. 41 fol. 30; Devéria *Épigraphie etc.* p. 53(2); Pelliot, *T'oung-pao*, 1914, pp. 638–641, *Revue de l'Or. chrétien*, 1924, pp. 248, 249. Fu-lin, the much disputed transcript of some place in the far west—Bethlehem, *Rome*, or Stambul (*polin*) —, is here simply "Frank", the native place of one

13. Huang-ch'ing 1st year, Spring, 1st month . . *mou-wu* (29 February, 1312) . . Yeh-li-ya, President of the Ch'ung fu ssŭ, was promoted to be Ch'in kuo kung.[25]

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who Pelliot is satisfied was an Arabic-speaking Syrian. The "Offices of Western Astronomy and of Medicine" are not in the list of government offices in *YS*; but the "Medicine Office (i yo yüan) at the capital founded by the *Moslem* Ai-hsieh" is said to have had its name changed to Kuang hui ssŭ on 24 January, 1273 (*YS* c. 8 fol. 1r°). On the other hand the Kuang hui ssŭ, of which Ai-hsieh and his son Lu-ho were at different times Presidents, is said in c. 88 fol. 2v° to have been founded in 1270 and to have had charge of the Moslem medicine needed for the imperial household and guards and of charitable medical work in the capital. The employment of Moslems at the observatory is recorded in c. 90 fol. 10. Bayan is well-known as Kubilai's greatest general. He reached Khan-baliq on 6 May, 1276, after the capture of the Sung capital on 21 February, and set out for Shang-tu two days later. Nothing seems to be said about the accusations brought against him in *YS* cc. 9, 127, or in *Ch'ien t'ang i shih* c. 9 fol. 11v°. For the date of Ai-hsieh's mission to Arghun, 1285, and for interesting detail about his return see p. 107 above and Pelliot, *l.c.*

For the Pi shu chien or Office of Archives, founded 1272, see *YS* c. 90 fol. 10r°; for the Han lin and Board of History, 1264, c. 87 fol. 2r°. Of the earthquake at the capital we find no trace in the annals, but there was a terrific one at P'ing-yang and T'ai-yüan on the night of 17 Sept., 1303, repeated for P'ing-yang in February, 1304. "On the night of *hsin-mao* (17 Sept.) there was an earthquake of extreme violence at P'ing-yang and T'ai-yüan; villages were moved from their places, the earth was rent into channels and countless persons were crushed to death." cf. *YS* c. 21 fol. 4r°, 5v°, 6v°, where it is said that more than 1400 Taoist temples were ruined and more than 1000 priests killed or injured.

T'ai shih was the highest title granted to a subject. *K'ai fu i t'ung san ssŭ* was the first of 42 honorary titles granted to civil officers and carried with it the upper grade of the 1st rank (*chêng i p'in*). *Shang chu kuo* was the 1st of the 10 titles called *hsün* or "signal public service". *Wang* was the 1st and *Kuo kung* the 3rd of the 10 titles under the heading "8 degrees of dignity" (*chüeh*). cf. *YS* c. 110, 111; 91 fol. 8r°; *BEFEO*, III. p. 667(7).

[25] *YS* c. 24 fol. 7v°. Yeh-li-ya was, as will be seen more clearly below, the eldest son of Ai-hsieh, and we might infer that Ai-hsieh had died between 7 April, 1311 and 29 Feb., 1312. Pelliot has however found the dates of his birth and death as 1227 and 1308 in his funerary inscription (a more reliable source) which is preserved in the *Hsüeh lou chi*. For the knowledge of this interesting document, which is unfortunately not at my disposal, we are indebted to Ch'ên, *Yüan yeh li k'o wên k'ao* fol. 7v°. Ch'ên also refers to the decrees conferring the titles of Prince of Fu-lin on Ai-hsieh and Princess of Fu-lin on his wife Sa-la (Sarah) in the *Hsüeh lou chi* c. 4, and to the grant of a posthumous title to "A-shih-k'o-tai, President of the Ch'ung fu ssŭ" in Yao Sui's *Mu an chi* c. 2. Ch'ên says that A-shih-k'o-tai is the same as Ai-hsieh, but the title, C*h'in kuo chung i kung*, is

14. T'ien-li first year . . 10 month . . *jên-yin* (15 Nov., 1328) . . the Ministers of the Metropolitan Province said: Yeh-li-ya formerly had his name removed for receiving bribes; lately it has again been ordered that he should be President of the T'ai i yüan (Imperial medicine office); the Ministers dare not receive the decree. The Emperor said: Do not bring up his past faults. At the time when the troops rose we had already pardoned and made use of him. Carry the matter out according to our orders.[26]

15. Chih-shun first year, Spring, 1st month . . *chi-mao* (15 February, 1330) Yeh-li-ya, President of the T'ai i yüan, was created Ch'in kuo kung.[27]

16. [Chih-shun first year], 7th month . . *ting-ch'ou* (12 August, 1330) . . So-chu, President of the Chiang tso yüan and son of the late ch'êng-hsiang T'ieh-mu-tieh-êrh, with his younger brother Kuan-yin-nu and his elder sister's husband Yeh-li-ya, President of the T'ai i yüan, were guilty of sedition, practising magic, sacrificing to the Great Bear, and using incantations. When the matter became known a decree was made that the Secretaries of State should thoroughly examine the case. Together with Wu-ma-êrh, former President of the Board of Punishments, Po-lo, former President of the Censors, Ma-êrh, President of the Shang-tu Liu shou ssŭ, and A-na-hsi-mu-ssŭ, elder sister of Yeh-li-ya, they were all beheaded. . . . Intercalary 7th month . . *ping-hsü* (21 August, 1330) . . the confiscated barns, fields, houses, slaves, and cattle of So-chu, Yeh-li-ya and the rest were granted for a perpetual possession to the Ta ch'êng t'ien hu shêng Monastery . . *kêng-yin* (25 August,

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not one of those given to Ai-hsieh in *YS*. As recently too as 15 January, 1312, An-p'u, President of the Hsüan chêng and Hui fu yüan, had been made Ch'in kuo kung (*YS* c. 24 fol. 7r°; c. 27 fol. 1v°). This Yang An-p'u, who was, according to CH'EN, head of the Buddhists of Chiang-nan, is mentioned in *YTCTK* c. 29 under 24 Nov., 1311, in connexion with a question about the *yeh-li-k'o-wên* which was referred to the Chi hsien yüan, Hsüan chêng yüan, Ch'ung fu ssŭ, and Censors, when he said: Now throughout the empire the affairs in which the Christians meddle are many, and if there were 100 officials they could not control them.

[26] *YS* c. 32 fol. 7r°.

[27] *YS* c. 34 fol. 1v°. He had probably been deprived of this title, received in 1312, on his conviction for bribery.

1330); The confiscated house of Yeh-li-ya was taken for the public office of the Tu tu fu.[28]

17. Third year, Spring, 1st month . . (*ting-hai* (13 Feb., 1332)) . . the members of the Ch'a yüan presented a petition that Tien-ha, a President of the Han-lin yüan, should be degraded because his elder brother Yeh-li-ya had been executed. Approved.[29]

18. Chih-yüan . . 6th year . . 6th month, *ping-shên* (9 July, 1340); A decree was made that they should eject the tablet of Wên Tsung from the Temple and remove the empress dowager Pu-ta-shih-li and place her at Tung-an chou. . . . The gist of it was: . . . Wên Tsung . . . with his ministers Yüeh-lu-pu-hua, Yeh-li-ya, and Ming-li-tung-a plotted a rebellion. . . . Thereupon they put Yeh-li-ya to death to shut his mouth. . . . At that time the rebel ministers Yüeh-lu-pu-hua and Yeh-li-ya were already dead. . . .[30]

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[28] *YS* c. 34 fol. 6v°, 7r°. For the various government departments see *YS* as follows: Chiang tso yüan (Imperial goldsmiths and jewellers), c. 88 fol. 4v°; Hsing pu (Board of Punishments), c. 85 fol. 12v°; Yü shih t'ai (Board of Censors), c. 86 fol. 12r°; Shang-tu Liu shou ssŭ (an office entrusted with the guarding of the palace at Shang-tu and, when the Emperor was absent, with the care of the granaries and with certain municipal duties), c. 90 fol. 10v°; Tu tu fu (founded 1329 to direct the Right and Left Guards), c. 86 fol. 11r°.

For T'ieh-mu-tieh-êrh see *YS* c. 205 fol. 9v°–11v°, where his son is called So-nan. Yeh-li-ya seems to have been the son-in-law of this notorious man whom his biographer describes as a greater villain than Ahmad (p. 138 above). One Po-lo, possibly the man in question, had been banished on 22 Jan., 1324 (*YS* c. 29 fol. 3r°) for his share in the murder of Ying Tsung; but if so he must twice have been pardoned, as he appears in the government as Yu ch'êng in 1333 and as P'ing chang chêng shih from 1335 till 1340 (*YS* c. 113 fol. 1; T'oung-pao, 1904, p. 445). A-na-hsi-mu-ssŭ is a sufficiently exact transcription of Onesimus.

[29] *YS* c. 36 fol. 1v°. Tien-ha was the second son of Ai-hsieh. The words "his elder brother" prove beyond reasonable question that the Yeh-li-ya who was punished was Ai-hsieh's son of that name. The ch'a yüan was a subordinate department of the Board of Censors. This passage gives perhaps within a little the date of Yeh-li-ya's execution, for whatever may have happened to Po-lo there seems to be no doubt that Yeh-li-ya was beheaded.

[30] *YS* c. 40 fol. 3r°, v°. The same decree, omitting the 3rd mention of Yeh-li-ya, is quoted also in c. 36 fol. 4v°. Comparing this passage and the foregoing with *YS* cc. 28–31 it is not easy to be sure whether Yeh-li-ya was concerned in the murder of Ying Tsung on

19. [Chih-yüan 6th year], 7th month . . *mou-yin* (25 August, 1340); Tien-ha, President of the Han lin yüan, and Nao-nao, President of the K'uei chang ko, were ordered to revise the *Ta yüan t'ung chih*.[31]

20. Chih-chêng . . 15 year, Spring, 1st month, when new moon fell on *mou-wu* (14 Jan., 1355) . . Hei-ssŭ, President of the Hsüan hui yüan, was appointed Chung shu p'ing chang chêng shih.[32]

In an extant part of the *Ta yüan t'ung chih* which has been mentioned just above Mr. Ch'ên Yüan has found an interesting note under the date 3 September, 1295, in which Ai-hsieh seems to be represented as petitioning the government on behalf of Mar Sargis at Chên-chiang who could not or would not pay taxes on the land attached to his monasteries.[33]

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4 September, 1323, as well as in Wên Tsung's plot against his elder brother Ming Tsung, 30 August, 1329; or whether both places refer to the latter occasion. The account of the latter (c. 31 fol. 4v°) mentions no names but the Heir Apparent (*i.e.* Wên Tsung), but the account of Ying Tsung's death gives the names of many of the conspirators, including Yüeh-lu-pu-hua, So-nan, and Po-lo. cf. c. 28 fol. 7r°. Pu-ta-shih-li (Buddhasri) was made empress in 1328, and died at Tung-an, a town about half-way between the modern Peking and Tientsin. cf. *YS* c. 106 fol. 3r°.

[31] *YS* c. 40 fol. 3v°. Denha had evidently recovered his old title. The *Ta yüan t'ung chih* is not extant. It had been very rapidly compiled by Wan-yen-na-tan, Ts'ao Po-ch'i, and others and completed on 26 March, 1323. cf. Pelliot, *BEFEO*, IX. p. 130; *YS* c. 28 fol. 5. cf. also *Yüan wên lei* c. 36 fol. 4.

[32] *YS* c. 44 fol. 1r°; c. 113 fol. 8r°. If this is the son of Ai-hsieh we must suppose that he was born late in his father's life. For another Hei-ssŭ of much earlier date see c. 133 fol. 7r°. A third Hei-ssŭ with Shih-lieh-mên (another Christian name) appears in the last scene of the dynasty in 1368. cf. *YS* c. 47 fol. 5v°.

Two of the sons of Ai-hsieh, K'o-li-chi-ssŭ and Lu-ho, have not, as far as I know, been identified elsewhere; though the name K'o-li-chi-ssŭ in various forms is common and Lu-ho has been met above (p. 159).

[33] *Yüan yeh li k'o wên k'ao* fol. 24r°, quoting *YTCTK* c. 29. I do not attempt to translate the whole paragraph which is in the puzzling colloquial style of the Mongol edicts. It begins with the words "The *yeh-li-k'o-wên* Ma-hsi-li-ch'i-ssŭ has built monasteries in Chiang-nan out of his own means (*or* on his own authority)," and remarks that they own "government land" and "arable land which has been bought" in exact accordance with the statement on page 150 above. "In the monasteries they make incense and candles." *i.e.*, I suppose, they are occupied with religious services. Ma-hsi-li-ch'i-ssŭ is Mr Ch'ên's very probable correction for the original Ma-hsi-ssŭ-ch'i-ssŭ.

V. Some miscellaneous passages.

21. The present Emperor's elder daughter's husband, Kang-ha-la-tsa Prince of Ch'ing, caught a strange disease in consequence of a fall from a horse. The black pupils of both the eyes disappeared, and the tongue projected down to the chest. The physicians did not know what to do. Nieh-chih-êrh, President of the Kuang hui ssŭ, who was in fact a *yeh-li-k'o-wên* man, knew this disease and proceeded to cut it (the tongue) off. When another tongue grew in the mouth he cut it also, and moreover he took away more than a finger on either side of the real tongue, and anointed it with drugs and healed it. The date was Yüan-t'ung *kuei-yu* (1333). As for the Kuang hui ssŭ, the physicians among the Moslems are in charge of it.[34]

22. Shih-lieh-mên a *yeh-li-k'o-wên* man, Shao-chien in the Pi shu chien, was appointed in the 11th Ta-tê year, 6th month, 25th day (24 July, 1307). . . . The Chu-tso-lang Ya-ku, allowed to take office as *chin shih*, styled Chêng-ch'ing, a *yeh-li-k'o-wên* man, was appointed Ch'êng-shih-lang in the first T'ai-ting year, 11th month, 26 day (12 December, 1324). . . . The Tsou-ch'ai Nang-chia-t'ai, styled Yüan-tao, a *yeh-li-k'o-wên* man, was impeached in the 3rd later Chih-yüan year, 8th month, 29th day (23 September, 1337).[35]

VI. King George.

The story of Mar Jabalaha, Marco Polo, and the letters of the Franciscan Brothers have already made King George and his family known to us, and we have now to learn about them from the Chinese side. Professor Pelliot writes of them and of their tribe as follows. "The Kerait [Christian tribe] were no doubt settled in northern Mongolia although their habitat cannot as yet be exactly defined. But that is not the case with the other great Christian tribe of this epoch, the Öngüt or Ongut (a plural tribe-name formed from Öng or Ong). These were living to the north of the Yellow River and commanded the passes in the north-west of Shan-hsi which led from Mongolia to China. The Chinese knew them as the White Tartars (Pai Ta-ta), but the name of Öngüt (Wang-ku or Yung-ku) is also found in their histories. And in Central Asia the country retained the name (with the old pronunciation) of T'ien-tê (T'ien-tək) which it had borne in the T'ang dynasty—Marco Polo's Tenduc. Some of these Öngüt who had emigrated from Lin-t'ao to the south of Kan-su were taken prisoners by the Chin and deported to the south of Manchuria. They were Christians. A vision of the Chin emperor T'ai Tsung (1123–1136), explained by one of their images, resulted in their liberation and installation north of the Yellow River at Ching-chou. At the beginning of the 13th century their principal family was represented by Ma Ch'ing-hsiang [p. 225 above]. . . . At the time of the war between Chingis and the Naiman, the chief of the Öngüt was Alaqush-tägin-quli [A-la-wu-ssŭ-t'i-chi-hu-li]." This man sided with Chingis, not without opposition from some members of his tribe, against the Naiman chief T'ai-yang, and when he came home from the conquest of the Naiman he and his elder son Pu-yen Hsi-pan (Buyan Shiban) were assassinated by the malcontents. His wife however escaped to Yün-chung with her younger son Po-yao-ho and nephew Chên-kuo. When Chingis conquered Yün-chung he found the refugees and made very handsome provision for them, giving Alahush the posthumous title of Prince of Kao-t'ang and his wife A-li-hei the title of Princess of Kao-t'ang. As Po-yao-ho was still very young his cousin Chên-kuo was first made Prince of Pei-p'ing and was soon succeeded by his son Nieh-ku-t'ai who was killed in battle. Po-yao-ho though still young was then attached to an expedition against western Asia (*hsi yü*), and on his return [*at the age of* 17] succeeded to the title of Prince of Pei-p'ing. He was given Chingis's daughter A-la-hai-pieh-chi (Alagaibägi) for wife, a gifted lady whom her father used to leave with perfect confidence in charge of the government when he went abroad on his military expeditions. She was however childless and gave her husband a concubine who bore him three sons, Künbuga, Aïbuga, and Sholiqbuga (Cho-li-pu-hua). The princess looked on them all as her own children. When Po-yao-ho died he was given the posthumous titles of Prince of Kao-t'ang, etc. Künbuga was given Güyük's eldest daughter, the princess Yeh-li-mi-shih (Yelmish), to wife, and Aïbuga Kubilai's youngest daughter, the princess Yüeh-lieh (Yüräk). Early in Chung-t'ung (1260) they led troops to attack A-li-pu-hua (Kubilai's brother Ariqbuga) and defeated K'uo-pu-hua (Ariqbuga's general Karabuga) in the land of An-t'an-huo-êrh-huan. In the third year (1262) they besieged Li T'an in Chi-nan, holding [*the south*] side all alone. When that matter was settled they joined once more an expedition to the north-west and defeated Sa-li-man of the rebel prince's faction [*at K'ung-chi-lieh*].[36] Aïbuga died [there]. His son was K'uo-li-chi-ssŭ (George).

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[34] T'AO Tsung-i, *Cho kêng lu* c. 9 fol. 4v°; quoted in part in *Yüan yeh li k'o wên k'ao* fol. 5r°. I have not been able to identify the persons named. For the Kuang hui ssŭ cf. pp. 228–230 above.

[35] *Yüan yeh li k'o wên k'ao* fol. 6, quoting *Pi shu chien chih* cc. 9, 10, 11. For the Pi shu chien see p. 230 above. *Shao-chien* was the 3rd rank on the staff, *Chu-tso-lang* the 1st of the "subordinate officers", *Tsou-ch'ai* was the 8th on the staff, without official "rank". For Ya-ku (Jacob) cf. p. 221 above. To be allowed to take office as *chin shih* was the regular phrase for obtaining a second class in the examination for the *chin shih* degree (cf. *Var. Sin.* 5). A man named Nang-chia-tai of the Christian Naiman tribe has a long biography in *YS* c. 131 fol. 2, 3, but is of earlier date and greater eminence.

K'uo-li-chi-ssŭ was brave and resolute in character and practised the soldier's trade. He was still more earnest over letters and the arts. [*He founded and built temples and schools.*] He built the 'Hall of a myriad volumes' at his home and daily discussed with scholars the classics and history, philosophy, astrology, and mathematics, for with all of these he was thoroughly familiar. He [*had first*] married the princess Hu-ta-ti-mi-shih and afterwards married the princess Ai-ya-shih-li. When the hereditary prince Yeh-pu-kan rebelled he led more than 1000 picked horse and marching day and night without stopping came up with him in ten days. The hot weather had then just begun. When he was going to fight a great north wind sprang up, and his staff begged him to wait for it [to stop].

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[36] The *Yüan wên lei* attributes these exploits to Aïbuga alone, and *YS* reads "defeated K'ung-ku-lieh son of Hui(Sa)-li-man."

K'uo-li-chi-ssŭ said, To have a wind in the heat shows God's approval of me; spurred his horse, and charged into the battle. The cavalry followed him and made a great slaughter of the multitude. Yeh-pu-kan with a few horsemen escaped by flight. K'uo-li-chi-ssŭ was hit by three arrows [*and one lance*] cut off his hair. When he returned in triumph, an imperial order gave him 3 catties of gold and 1500 [or *fifteen*] catties of silver. When Ch'êng Tsung ascended the throne (1294) he made him Prince of Kao-t'ang. The North-west was unsettled and he made a petition to the Emperor that he wished to go and restore order there. He petitioned again and again till the Emperor gave leave and he went. And he took an oath saying, Until I have restored order in the North-west my horse's head shall not turn south. In the summer of the first Ta-tê year (1297) he met the enemy in the land of Pai-ya-ssŭ. His men said he must wait till the main army was all come, for there was no hurry. K'uo-li-chi-ssŭ said, The great man (*i.e.* the Emperor) has rewarded me with a kingdom (?), and shall I wait for other men? Then he roused his men with noise of drums to the attack and utterly defeated [the enemy]. capturing more than 100 of their officers and men as an offering. An imperial order gave him the sable coat which Shih Tsu himself wore, a jewelled saddle, etc. In the autumn of the second year (1298) the princes and generals consulted together about the defence of the borderland. They all said, Last year the enemy did not come out in the winter, so we may rest the troops at the frontier. K'uo-li-chi-ssŭ said, It is not so. The riders who have come this autumn are very few. It is as they say, When the falcon is about to strike it is sure to hide itself. We must be ready and not delay. The majority did not think it was so. K'uo-li-chi-ssŭ alone mobilised his troops to wait for them. This winter sure enough the enemy troops came in force. There were three battles and three victories. K'uo-li-chi-ssŭ seizing his advantage pursued them northward far into dangerous territory and those riding behind him did not follow. His horse [*was wounded and*] stumbled, and so he was captured by the enemy. The enemy enticed him to send in his submission, but he replied with unbending loyalty. Then they wished to take a woman and give her to him for wife. K'uo-li-chi-ssŭ sternly said, I am the Emperor's son-in-law, can I marry again unless the Emperor and Empress give me a personal command? The enemy dared not force him. The Emperor sent his personal servant A-hsi-ssŭ on a special mission into the enemy territory, and he saw him in the presence of a number of people. As soon as K'uo-li-chi-ssŭ saw him he hastened to ask after the welfare of the Two Palaces.[37] Next he asked how his son and heir was. Before he had finished speaking the attendants led him away. The next day they sent the messenger back without having seen him again, and he died there unyielding to the end. In the [*7th month of the*] ninth year (July–August, 1305) he was given the posthumous title of Loyal and Exemplary Prince of Kao-t'ang, etc., . . . Since his son Shu-an was young, the Emperor ordered that they should take his (George's) younger brother Shu-hu-nan to succeed as Prince of Kao-t'ang. Shu-hu-nan was clever and wise, brave and distinguished, and carefully preserved the inheritance intact. He fostered and ruled the people, and established peace in his borders. Sorrowing for his brother's death he sent messengers to the capital with a memorial asking for an official note of sympathy, and he also asked the President of the Han-lin, Yen Fou, to compose a funerary inscription [to be inscribed] on stone. He brought up Shu-an [*whose mother was long dead*] with more care than his own son, and ordered the most trustworthy of the family servants to take charge of his brother's jewels and clothes and special decorations until Shu-an should be grown up and established, and then give them all to him. In the second Chih-ta year (1309) Shu-hu-nan received the additional title of Prince of Chao, and thereupon retired in favour of Shu-an. In the third year (1310) Shu-an succeeded as Prince of Chao. He married the daughter of the Prince of Chin, the princess A-la-ti-na-pa-la. One day he summoned his tutor T'o-huan and the equerry A-hsi-ssŭ and addressed them saying, The late Prince was buried by strangers in a desert and distant land. What support will his spirit have? In my sorrow of heart I wish I were not alive. If I beseech the Emperor and obtain leave to bring him home for burial in the tombs of his fathers, my darkened eyes will be free from grief. The two men spoke to the Manager of the Ch'u mi yüan, Yeh-li-chi-ni, to make it known to the Emperor, who sighed and was grieved for a while and said, Shu-an is a dutiful son. Then he gave A-hsi-ssŭ a jar (*sic*) of gold and found T'o-huan's son Shih-hu-tu-lu, the Prince's tutor, Shu-hu-nan's son A-lu-hu-tu, the judge Yeh-hsien, and others, nineteen men, to ride on post horses to go there. He also gave those who accompanied them 500000 cash in paper money. The Prince of Chi-yang, Yüeh-ch'ih-ch'a-êrh, and the ch'êng-hsiang T'o-ho-ch'u Pa-tu-lu (?) sent a military force of 500 men to escort them to the place of burial. They respectfully reported that when they first saw the corpse it was as if alive. They were able to bring it home for burial.[38]

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[37] i.e., the Emperor and Empress

These extracts from official documents have shown us Christians scattered over the north and east of China in sufficient numbers to require a special department of the government for their care. As is to be expected from the nature of the books, we hear little of the religious or social life of the Christians and a good deal about their efforts to evade taxation. A few individuals appear as good governors, and of king George and of Ai-hsieh and his family our information is much more full and interesting. But even here it must be confessed that beyond their names there is little or nothing in the Chinese records to show that they were Christians.

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[38] *YS* c. 118 fol. 4v°–6v°. This should be compared with Monte Corvino's first letter, pp. 173–176 above. cf. PELLIOT, *T'oung-pao*, 1914, pp. 629–631, from which the above extract (p. 235) is taken; *JRAS*, 1914, p. 548; *Chin shih* c. 124 fol. 1; *YS* c. 134 fol. 1v°; CH'ÊN, *Yüan hsi yü jên hua hua k'ao* I, c. 2 fol. 12 sqq. quoting *I shan chi*, etc. King George's two wives were respectively a granddaughter of Kubilai and a daughter of Temur. Shu-an's wife is described as the daughter of the prince of Chin. The prince of Chin at the time, the future T'ai-ting emperor, was a boy of about twelve and A-la-ti-na-pa-la was perhaps his sister and a great-granddaughter of Kubilai. The *Yüan shih*, c. 109 fol. 1v°, makes K'uo-li-chi-ssŭ the son of Künbuga and gives his second wife's name as Ai-ya-mi-shih. The memorial inscription by Yen Fou is preserved in *Yüan wên lei* c. 23 fol. 11r°–14r°. It makes it plain that George was the son of Aïbuga, and gives his wife's name as Ai-shih-li, implying that she was the mother of Shu-an. It adds also a large number of details, of which the more important are inserted above in italics and enclosed in square brackets. cf. Fig. 19.

cf. also *YS* c. 5 fol. 7r° (28 January, 1264; the vine-dressers (*p'u t'ao hu* ??) of the Emperor's son-in-law Ai-pu-hua to pay taxes like common people; and *yeh-li-k'o-wên*, *ta-shih-man*, Buddhists, and Taoists to pay land-tax and excise).

CHAPTER IX

WESTERN WRITERS OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

(1) ODORIC OF PORDENONE[1]

1. I TELL you that when I had passed over the Ocean sea for many day's journeys I reached another great province, Mancy, which is called India by the Latins. And about this Upper India I inquired of the Christians, Saracens, idolaters, and all who are officials of the lord the great Khan (*Cathay* II. p. 309).[2]

2. I came to a city by the name of Kaitan (Zaitun), in which the Minor Brothers have two places, to which I carried some of the bones of our Brothers who were killed for the faith of Christ. (*Cathay*, II. p. 310, cf. pp. 195, 210 above.)

3. Having stayed here for some days we set out and arrived at a wonderful city called Guinzai (Quinsai, Hang-chou),

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[1] For the life of Odoric and for some discussion of the dates of his birth, travels, and death I may refer to the little known and nearly contemporary Life translated in the *T'oung-pao*, 1921, pp. 275–290. cf. also CORDIER, *Les Voyages du frère Odoric de Pordenone*, 1891; YULE, *Cathay*, II.; GOLUBOVICH, *AFH*, 1917, pp. 17–46. For the date of his birth there is really no evidence. It has been variously guessed as from 1265 to 1286. It seems to be probable that he began his eastern travels in 1314 or a little later. The "Minor Ramusian" text says it was in April, 1318. He visited Thana near Bombay in 1321 or 1322, an extremely doubtful authority says he was at Lin-ch'ing in Shan-tung in 1326, he spent 2 or 3 years at Khan-baliq, and he was home at Padua by May, 1330. He died most probably on Monday, 14 January, 1331, in the Franciscan Convent at Udine.

[2] These passages have been translated from actual manuscripts or from RAMUSIO, but reference to YULE's text has been given alone wherever that has seemed enough. There are four families of the text: (1) that of Henry of Glatz, (2) that of William of Solagna, who originally wrote the book from Odoric's dictation at Padua in May, 1330, (3) that printed and translated by HAKLUYT, (4) the "Minor Ramusian," printed by RAMUSIO and found, as far as I know, in no MS. exactly. cf. *T'oung-pao*, 1921, pp. 301–322; 1922, pp. 387–393.

which in our tongue means to say City of Heaven. This city is the largest that is in all the world, and it is so large that I hardly dare to tell it; but yet I have found many persons in Venice who have been there. The land is very full of people, and there is not a step of ground which is not inhabited. There are very many houses there of eight and of ten stories, where on every storey lives a family with its workshops, because of the great dearth of land, where every little site is worth great sums. The city has very large suburbs in which live many more people than in the city; and it has 12 principal gates, and each gate has a straight street of 8 miles, and at the end of 8 miles is a city greater than Padua, so that every gate of the twelve has a city of the size which I have said [reached] by the straight street. We were seven [days?] going through those suburbs. Here the natives have dug out and made lagoons through certain channels, as there are at Venice (and they are so many and so made that at the end and at the beginning of the channels or rather lagoons they have gates), which by the true God are certainly of more than ten miles. And at all [the gates] are the guards, and these are there for the great Khan.[3] In the land there are many Christians, but more Saracens and idolaters. And it was told me that each house pays yearly to the lord one *bastagne* (or *balish*), which is worth a ducat and a half. And ten families make one hearth for the group of hearths (*focolaro*). These local groups (*focolari*) are 85, and every group is ten thousand hearths, and every hearth is commonly ten families. And this is only of the Saracens.[4] All the rest is of Christians and merchants and other foreign people who are ten times more than the Saracens. And to the miracle of how so many people can live together was added the sight of what abundance there was there of bread and wine and flesh and all other things necessary to human life. The king of Mangi lived here, where there is a place of Minor Brothers. And they have converted a very great baron in whose house I lodged. And he said to me, Acta, that is, O Father, come let me show thee the land. This said, we jumped into a little boat and he took me into a monastery called Thebe. And one of those monks said to me, O Rabin, which means to say O Monk, go with this man, who is of your Order, who will show you something new. And so we went to the place of the Minor Brothers, where I had the greatest honour and was entertained till evening with various stories of the magnificence of the

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[3] An exact grammatical version of these sentences is difficult, if not impossible. The sentences are interesting and important as they avoid, and at the same time give a possible explanation of, the exaggeration of "10000 (or 12000) *bridges*" which appear in other texts and in Marco Polo; and they are almost a translation from a local guide-book published at Hang-chou a few years before Odoric's visit. cf. *New China Review*, 1920, p. 207; 1922, p. 32.

[4] The other texts make it clear that this should be "*except* the Saracens," for whom they add another 4 groups or *thuman*, making a total of 890000 hearths. cf. p. 162 above.

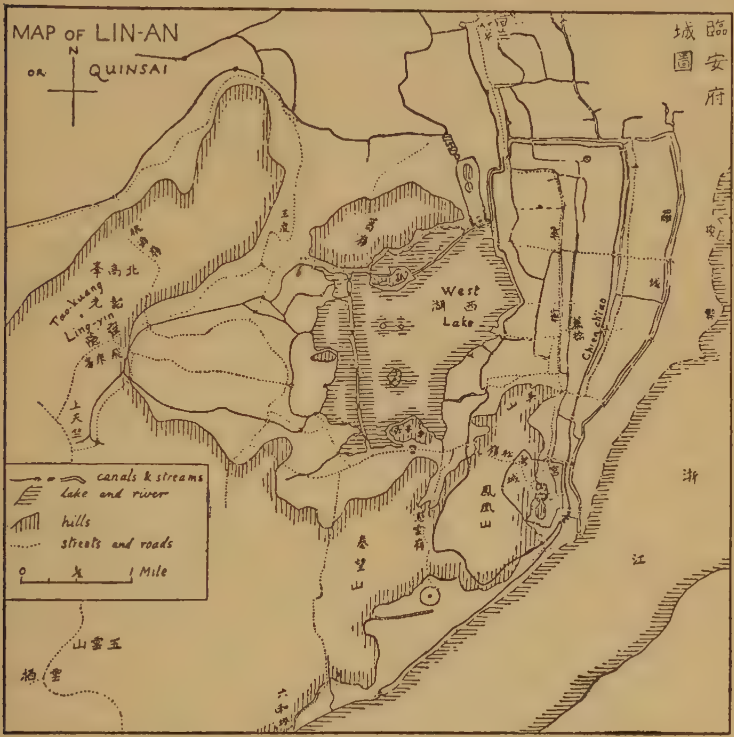

FIG. 20.—Plan of Lin-an or Hang-chou (Quinsai).

lands. After so long he came with many other brothers out of the place the distance of a bow-shot into a large garden, in which was a little hill all full of caves and surrounded with fruit trees. There two of those our brothers began to sound on a gong, and immediately I saw a more wonderful thing than ever I had seen on the journey. For I saw thousands of the most unusual and strange wild beasts that ever were seen come out of those caves roused by hearing the sound; amongst which I recognized wild cats, martens (?, *martarelli*), monkeys, baboons, foxes, wolves, porcupines, and there were horned animals with human face, and others very strange; but the more part had a human face. And when they had stayed some time they went away and returned to the caves with great speed. And at this I was full of fear and of wonder. I asked him who had brought me here what this was and what was the meaning of such a diversity of beasts. And he, smiling, told me that those were souls of great lords and noble men whom they feed here for the love (?? *di sudor*) of God. And according as the man was more noble, so his soul entered into a more noble animal body. And he, though I did not believe him, I could get nothing else from him nor from those who were present there.[5]

[5] G.-B. Ramusio, *Navigationi e viaggi*, II., 1574 (Odoric is actually dated 1573), fol. 247 A, B, C.; *Cathay*, II. pp. 312–315. I have translated this text partly for the sake of brevity and partly for the allusion to the Franciscan monastery which is not supported by the longer texts which begin, In illa ciuitate quatuor fratres nostri conuerterant vnum potentem ad fidem xpisti in cuius hospicio continue hospitabar dum fui ibi. Yule and Cordier both adopt the suggestion of my late Father, Bishop G. E. Moule, that the monastery was Ling-yin, which was commonly reached from Hang-chou by crossing the West Lake in a boat, and the "little hill" would then be the Fei-lai fêng. At first sight it would be natural to suppose that this story and the similar one in Marignolli (p. 260 below) referred to the Buddhist practice of *fang shêng* or the liberation and care of living things (cf. J. J. M. de Groot, *Le Code du Mahayana en Chine* pp. 53, 110–126). The books and maps relating to Hang-chou in the Sung and Yüan dynasties mention several fish pools (*fang shêng ch'ih*) including the northern part of the Lake itself, but, as far as I can find, no similar preserve for animals. Long afterwards there was such a preserve connected with Ling-yin: —"Pao shêng an: This is the *fang shêng* place at the stream of golden sand. It contains a chapel of 5 bays, kitchen of 4 bays, stables of 5 bays, and wood-house of 2 bays. It was built in the autumn of 1655." cf. *Ling yin ssŭ*

4. Passing thence by that river I came to a city by the name of Ianzu (Yang-chou), in which is a place of our

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chih Maps fol. 1r°, c. 2 fol. 9v°. And there was a similar place in the Ching-tz'ŭ monastery south of the Lake. It seems however to be the usual rule that while birds, fishes, and reptiles of all sorts are set free or kept "for the love of God", it is only domestic animals, and not wild animals like apes, that are so treated; so that we are almost forced to find another explanation of Odoric's tale.

The following passages, first noticed by Bishop Moule, will throw light on the matter. They refer to spots on the Fei-lai fêng, the hill "all full of caves" in the precincts of Ling-yin, which must have "come flying" from India, as Hui-li, the founder of the monastery A.D. 326, proved to the sceptical natives by finding there the black and white apes which he had left occupied in religious duties in a cave in the same hill when he set out from India (*Ling yin ssŭ chih* c. 1 fol. 1v°). In *Lin an chih* (published about 50 years before Odoric's visit) c. 23 fol. 3v° we read: "White Ape Peak: for details see Cave where the Apes were called (Hu yüan tung)." Turning to this reference we find: "Cave, where the Apes were called: Lu Yü (8th century) says, Chih-i, a monk of the Sung dynasty (5th century), was a great whistler making a sound like the moaning pines. He used to keep apes on the hill [in imitation of the old tradition]. Going down to the stream he would give a long whistle, and all the apes would gather together. [The curious used to put out food to feed them, and so the Platform where the Apes were fed (Fan yüan t'ai) was built.] They called him the Ape Father. Again the preface to the Ode by Tsun-shih (early 11th century) says, The Indian monk Hui-li kept a white ape in Ling-yin monastery. The Ode itself says, He led the water to thread its way through the portico; he called the ape to leap round to the stream. By the side of the stream is the Platform where the Apes were fed. The monks of the monastery used formerly to put out food here." *ibid.* fol. 5v°; words in square brackets being added from the *Hsi hu yu lan chih* c. 10 fol. 21 r°. The *Ling yin ssŭ chih* c. 1 fol. 11 adds nothing to the above, while the *Shun yu lin an chih*, 1252, c. 8 fol. 14 gives the same story with small additions under Relics of Antiquity (*ku chi*); and I have searched in vain for any trace of the apes in the 14th century. cf. also *Lin an chih* c. 29, fol. 5v°, c. 36 fol. 14v°, c. 80 fol. 2, 3; *P'ei wên yün fu* c. 13*a* fol. 46; A. Vissière, *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géogr. commerciale*, xxiii. pp. 111–113. Writing however to Colonel Yule on 24 November, 1874, Bishop Moule said: Only the other day a monk told me that the apes had been seen on the rocks within this twelve month. and, A few days ago a monk told me an ape had been seen this year; but his description was hazy. cf. *The Geogr. Mag.*, May, 1875, pp. 137, 138. With the actual text of Odoric must be compared finally the account of this episode in the *Chronicle* of John of Viktring, written not later than 1348; "He related besides that he had seen in a monastery a man who was keeper of animals of different kinds, sheep, goats, monkeys, dogs, and such like, which at a fixed time he drove up to feed, and placed before them remnants of food; and said that they were souls, but had lived like these animals and so were changed into their likeness. And when he could

Brothers, and there are in it three churches of the Nestorians. (*Cathay*, II. p. 317, cf. p. 224 above.)

5. I brother Odoric was there (Tai-tu or Khan-baliq) for three years, and was often at these his (the Kaan's) feasts, because we Brothers Minor have a place appointed us in his court and must always go and give him our blessing. And I inquired of those of the court concerning the number of those who are at the court of the lord, and they answered me that of actors there are quite 18 *thuman* (180000). Keepers moreover of hounds and animals and birds are 15 *thuman* (150000). But there are 400 physicians for the person of the king, eight Christians moreover and one Saracen. (*Cathay*, II. p. 321.)

6. Once moreover when [the Kaan] was coming into Khan-baliq, and certain news of his arrival had been given, a Bishop of ours and some of our Minor Brothers and I went quite two day's journeys to meet him. And when we drew near to him I placed a cross on a pole so that it could be publicly seen, and I had in my hand a censer which I had brought with me. And we began to sing with a loud voice saying, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, etc. And while we were thus singing he heard our voices and had us called and ordered us to come to him. As has been said elsewhere above no one dares to approach to a stone's throw of his chariot unless he is called, except his guards. And when we had come to him with the cross lifted up he immediately took off his helmet or cap of almost inestimable value and did reverence to the cross. And immediately I put incense in the censer that I had and our Bishop took it from my hand and censed him. When they go to the foresaid Lord they always take something with them to offer, observing that ancient law, You shall not appear in my sight empty. So we carried

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make no progress against this belief, although he argued in the catholic way, he shook off the dust from his feet and went away, leaving the error in minds hardened by the wiles of the devil." cf. J. F. BOEHMER, *Fontes Rerum Germ.*, I. p. 391. This curious version of the story suggests that Odoric may have seen sheep and goats driven up to feed and heard the story of the apes, and perhaps unconsciously combined the two into one tale of his own experience. cf. *T'oung-pao*, 1921, p. 290.

some apples with us and offered them to him respectfully on a dish. And he took two of the apples and ate a little of one. And then our Bishop aforesaid gave him his blessing. And this done he signed to us to retire lest the horses coming after him and the crowd should hurt us in any way. We departed from him indeed immediately and turned aside and went to some of his barons who were in his army who had been converted to the faith by the Brothers of our Order. And we offered to them some of the foresaid apples. And they received them with the greatest joy, so that they seemed as happy as if we had given them a great gift. (*Cathay* II. p. 334.)

7. An interesting and little known letter written by the Franciscan Jose Maria Vila from Chi-nan on 28 February, 1892, is worth quoting in part, although further research seems to show that it is based on some mistake. It was addressed to Marcelino de Civezza as follows: " . . . What I have to write about the beginning of our Shan-tung mission is taken from an account which was found by accident in the archives of this station of Zinanfu (Chi-nan fu). The great age of the document is easy to tell from the paper and the style of writing. It is known (says this manuscript) that in the year 1326 the blessed Odoric of Udine, a famous missionary, passed through Linzincou (Lin-ch'ing chou), a city of the second rank to the west of this capital. He preached and left our holy religion planted [there] on his return from Peking, and where he stayed for three years, confirmed the Christians whom he had left before, and apparently left a companion named Father Bernardo. This name only is recognized on a tombstone two leagues from Linzincou. In this place there are two graves, one of this Father and the other of a Bishop whose name cannot be read, because the manuscripts found in a bottle sealed with wax were reduced to dust the moment they were touched. In another small bronze box a ring was found and a pectoral cross on which was engraved the seal of our Father St. Francis, which, judged by its shape, dated from the 13th century (siglo 13). On the stone which according to Chinese custom was placed at the head of the grave, and which on

account of its age was broken into several pieces, it was only possible to see that he was buried in the year 1387 . . ." [6]

To this very doubtful information about Odoric we add the story or legend, as Yule calls it, of Matthew Escandel.

8. Being departed from these two Towns *Pacau* (Pacão) and *Nacau*, we continued our course up the River, and arrived at another Town, called Mindoo, somewhat bigger than those from whence we parted, where about half a mile (meya legoa) off was a great Lake of Salt-water, and a number of Salt-houses round about it; The *Chineses* assured us, that this Lake did ebb and flow like the Sea . . . rendring the King of *China* in yearly Revenue one hundred thousand *Taeis* onely for the third part of the Salt that was drawn out of it; . . . Now we had not passed above five or six leagues from this place but we came to a great Town, about a league in circuit, quite destroyed and ruinated; so that asking the *Chineses* what might be the cause thereof, they told us that the Town was anciently called *Cohilouzaa*, that is, *The flower of the field* (frol do campo), and had in former times been in very great prosperity, and that about one hundred forty and two years before, a certain stranger, in the company of some Merchants of the Port of *Tanasarini* (Tanaçarim) in the Kingdom of Siam (Sião), chanced to come thither being as it seems an holy man, although the Bonzes said he was a Sorcerer, by reason of the Wonders he did, having raised up five dead men, and wrought many other Miracles. . . . Whilest the *Chineses* were relating this history unto us, we arrived at a point of land, where going to double the Cape, we descried a little place environed with trees, in the midst whereof was a great

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[6] *Le Missioni Francescane in Palestina ed in altre regioni della Terra*, vol. II. fasc. viii., 31 Agosto, 1892, pp. 475–481. cf. J. J. HEEREN, "Bishop della Chiesa and the Story of his lost Grave," *JNCBRAS*, 1923, pp. 182–199. This article makes it hard to doubt that the two graves were those of Bishop Bernardino della Chiesa (†1721) and P. Jang (†1755); but the ancient MS. remains a mystery. Dr HEEREN wrote to me in 1924 : "I am sorry to have to report that the pro-vicar says that they can find no trace of such a manuscript : he had the librarian look through their library and their files without finding any evidence that the Tsinan Franciscans had ever possessed such a manuscript."

Cross of Stone, very well made. . . . [The boatmen said that this was the grave of the holy man, who had first been burnt and, escaping unhurt from the fire, was afterwards stoned.] . . . The People of the Village [Xifangau] beholding us in this posture [prostrate before the cross] came to us, and kneeling down also, with their hands lift up to Heaven, they said Christo Iesu, Iesu Christo, Maria micau vidau, late impone moudel. . . . Now all these were Christians, & descended of the Weaver, in whose house the holy man was lodged, of whom demanding whether that which the *Chineses* had told us was true, they showed us a Book that contained the whole History thereof at large, with many other Wonders wrought by that holy man, who (they said) was named Matthew Escandel (Mateus Escandel), and that he was a Hermit of Mount *Sinai* (Sinay), being a Hungarian (Vngaro) by Nation, and born in a place called Buda. . . . [The account closes by saying that the place was afterwards called Fiunganorsee or *Punishment of Heaven*, its destruction having followed the murder of Escandel, which took place, according to Mendez Pinto's statement, at the very end of the 14th century.] [7]

(2) EXTRACTS FROM *THE BOOK OF THE ESTATE OF THE GREAT KAAN*.[8]

Of the Minor Brothers who dwell in this land.

In the said city of Khan-baliq there was an Archbishop who had the name of Brother John of Monte Corvino of the Order of Minor Brothers, and he was legate there sent by

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[7] *The Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, a Portugal* : . . Done into English by H. C[OGAN]. 1663, pp. 118–120. Where the Portuguese form of a name differs from the English it is added in brackets from *Peregrinaçam de Fernam Mendez Pinto*, 1614, fol. 108–110 (in c. XCVI).

[8] The author of this book was probably John of Cora, who had served under John of Monte Corvino in Persia and was made Archbishop of Sultania on 9 August, 1329. The date is about 1330. The Latin original is not extant, but a French version is found at Paris (Bib. Nat. MS. Fr. 2810) and has been printed in *L'hystoire Merveilleuse Plaisante & Recreative du Grand Empereur de Tartarie*, 1529; in *JA*, 1830, pp. 59–71; and in *L'Extrême Orient au moyen âge*, 1877. An English version by YULE is in *Cathay*, III. p. 89–103.

Pope Clement. This Archbishop made in this city aforesaid three places of Minor Brothers, and they are quite two leagues distant one from the other. He also made two others in the city of Zaitun (racon) which is a good three months journey distant from Khan-baliq and is on the seashore. In which two places were two Minor Brothers, Bishops. One was named Brother Andrew of Paris (?Perugia) and the other was named Brother Peter of Florence. This Brother John the Archbishop converted a multitude of people to the faith of Jesus Christ. He is a man of very honest life, and pleasing to God and to the world, and was highly in favour with the Emperor. The Emperor had him always and all his people supplied with all that they needed, and all, Christians and pagans, loved him greatly, And indeed he would have converted all this country to the Christian and catholic faith if the Nestorians, false Christians and miscreants, had not hindered and annoyed him. The said Archbishop took great pains for these Nestorians to bring them back to the obedience of our mother the holy Church of Rome, without which obedience, he said, they could not be saved. And for this reason these schismatic Nestorians had great hatred towards him. That Archbishop, as it pleased God, is lately passed from this world. To his obsequies and to his burial there came a very great multitude of Christian people and of pagans. And these pagans rent their mourning robes as their way is; and these people, Christians and pagans, most devoutly took the garments of the Archbishop and kept them with great reverence and for relics. There was he buried with much honour in the fashion of faithful Christians. People still visit the place of his burial with very great devotion.

Of the Nestorians, schismatic Christians, who live there.

In the said city of Khan-baliq there is a kind of schismatic Christians whom they call Nestorians. They hold the manner and fashion of the Greeks and are by no means obedient to the holy Church of Rome. But they are of another sect and bear exceedingly great hatred to all the Christians there who are loyally obedient to the holy Church aforesaid. And when that Archbishop of whom we have spoken before was building these abbeys of the Minor Brothers above mentioned, these Nestorians destroyed them by night and did there all the harm that they could; for they dared not do evil to the said Archbishop nor to his Brothers nor to the other faithful Christians in public or openly, because the Emperor loved them and showed them tokens of regard. These Nestorians are more than thirty thousand living in the said empire of Cathay and are very rich people, but greatly dread and fear the Christians. They have very beautiful and orderly Churches with crosses and images in honour of God and of the saints. They hold many offices under the said Emperor and have great privileges from him; whence it is believed that if they would agree and be quite at one with these Minor Brothers and with these other good Christians who live there in this country, they would convert all this country and this Emperor to the true faith.

Of the great favour which the great Kaan has towards the Christians aforesaid.

The great Kaan supports the Christians in this said kingdom who are obedient to the holy Church of Rome and has them provided with all their necessities; for he has very great respect for them and shows them very great affection. And when they require or ask anything of him to adorn their Churches, their crosses, or their sanctuaries to the honour of Jesus Christ he very willingly provides them. But let them pray to God for him and for his health, and especially in their sermons. And very gladly he has and wishes all to pray for him. And very gladly does he suffer and allow the Brothers to preach the faith of God in the Churches of the pagans which they call uritanes. And as gladly does he allow the pagans to go to hear the preaching of the Brothers so that those pagans go there very gladly, and often with great reverence, and give to the Brothers much alms. And also that Emperor lends and despatches his people very gladly to the succour and help of the Christians when they have need of it and when they ask it of the Emperor.

(3) EXTRACTS FROM *THE CHRONICLE OF THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN SURNAMED OF THE MARIGNOLLI OF FLORENCE OF THE ORDER OF THE MINORS BISHOP OF BISIGNANO.*[9]

Of Marignolli's journey, which was undertaken in response to a mission from the great Kaan, we know very little beyond what he himself tells us. Wadding barely notes the arrival of the party at Khan-baliq in 1342 and their return to Avignon in 1353,[10] but he gives from the Papal Registers copies of the letters brought by the Tartar envoys and of the Pope's replies, and the extracts from Marignolli's Chronicle below will be prefaced by translations of the former and followed by some notes about the Alans from whom one of these letters came.

1. In the strength of the omnipotent God the command of the Emperor of Emperors.

We send our envoy Andrew *the Frank* with fifteen companions to the Pope the lord of the Christians in Francia beyond the *seven* seas where the sun sets, to open the way for the frequent sending of envoys by us to the Pope and by the Pope to us, and to ask the Pope himself to send us his blessing and always to make mention of us in his holy prayers, and to accept our commendation of our servants the Alans who are his Christian sons. Also let him bring to us from the sun-setting horses and other wonderful things. Written in Khan-baliq in the year of the rat in the [*6th*] month on the 3rd day of the moon.

In the strength of the omnipotent God and in honour of the Emperor our lord.

We, Futim Juens, Caticen *Tungii*, Gemboga Evenzi,

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[9] The only complete MS. of this Chronicle is in the University Library at Prag. It was printed by G. Dobner in *Monumenta Historica Boemiae*, II. 1768, pp. 79–282, and by J. Emler in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, III. 1882, pp. 492–604. The parts relating to Marignolli's Eastern travels were translated into German by J. G. Meinert in *Abh. der k. Böhm. G. der Wissenschaften*, VII. Prag, 1820, and into English by Yule in *Cathay*, III. pp. 209–269. Yule dates the Chronicle about 1355. A great part of the text will be found in *GB*, IV. pp. 271–296, and in *SF* pp. 524–560.

[10] *A.M.*, VII. p. 258, VIII. p. 87.

Johannes Juckoy, salute the holy Father our Lord the Pope with our heads laid on the earth, kissing his feet, seeking his blessing *and grace* and that he will make mention of us in his holy prayers and never forget us. Let this moreover be known to your Holiness that for a long time we were instructed in the catholic faith and wholesomely governed and very much comforted by your legate *Brother* John, a valiant, holy, and capable man who nevertheless died eight years ago. In which years we have been without a governor and without a spiritual comforter. Although we have heard that you have provided for another *legate*, he however is not yet come. Wherefore we beseech your Holiness to send us a good, capable, and wise legate who may care for our souls; and let him come quickly, because we stand ill without a head, without instructor, and without comforter. And we also beseech your Wisdom to give a gracious reply to our lord the Emperor so that, as he too asks and wishes, a *quick and good* road may be opened for the frequent sending of messengers from you to him and from him to you, and so that friendship may be contracted between you and him. For if you do this great good will result for the salvation of souls and for the exaltation of the Christian faith; because his favour in his empire can produce many blessings, and his wrath many difficulties and many evils. And so *we beg* that you may commend to him us your sons and *our* brothers and other believers who are in his empire, because if you do so you will do the greatest good; since it so happened that at different times three or four envoys came on your behalf to the aforesaid Emperor our Lord, by whom they were graciously received and honoured and rewarded; and since then our lord the *said* Emperor has received no answer from you or the Apostolic see, though they severally promised that they would bring back an answer from you to the aforesaid lord. Wherefore may your Holiness provide *that this time and henceforward he may have a definite reply from you and an envoy, as befits your Holiness.* Because the Christians in these parts have great shame when falsehood is found in them. Written in Khan-baliq in the year of the rat in the 6th month on the third day of the moon (11 July, 1336).[11]

After a few pages on the early history of the world Marignolli abruptly introduces the story of his own travels:

2. For, briefly to introduce some of the things we have seen, we, brother John of Florence of the Order of the Minors, unworthy Bishop of Bisignano, in the year of the Lord 1334 (*sic*) was sent with others by the holy Pope Benedict XII with Apostolic letters and gifts as nuncio and legate to the Kaan, the chief ruler of all the Tartars, who has dominion as it were over half the oriental world, whose power and great quantity of cities, lands, tongues, riches, and rule of in a manner infinite peoples exceed all telling. We left Avignon in the month of December [1338], we reached Naples at the beginning of Lent and there until Easter, which was at the end of March (28th), we waited for the Genoese ship to come with the messengers of the Tartars whom the Kaan had sent from the very great city of Khanbaliq to the Pope to arrange for the sending of ambassadors and to open the road and to make a treaty with the Christians, because he greatly honours and loves our faith. The chief princes also of his whole empire, more than 30000, who are called Alans and govern the whole empire of the East, are Christians in fact or in name and call themselves slaves of the Pope, ready to die for the Franks, for so they call us

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[11] *A.M.*, VII. pp. 209, 210, with margin "Ex secret. an. 4. epist. 131" and "Ibid. ep. 132" I have translated from a Paris MS. (Bib. Nat. Latin 14503 fol. 354*b,c,d*) where the letters are also found, adding words and phrases from WADDING's text in italics. cf. *Cathay*, III. pp. 180, 181. The Emperor is Toghan Temur or Shun Ti (1333–1368), the last of the Mongol dynasty. The Pope sent replies dated 13 June, 1338, to the Emperor, to Fodim Jovens, Chyansam Tongi, Chemboga Vensii, Joannes Yochy, and Rubeus Pinzanus, "principes Alanorum", to prince Chansi, prince Usbech, and others; and again to the same and some others on 31 October, 1338, with a commission to Nicolaus Boneti, Nicolaus de Molano, Joannes de Florentia (Marignolli), and Gregorius de Hungaria. For the letters themselves we must refer to *A.M.*, VII. pp. 210–219; *Cathay*, *l.c.*; *JRAS*, 1917, pp. 13–20, 30–35. The letter to Fodim Jovens contains the words "there are in those regions many Bishops and monks who have been sent there formerly by the Apostolic see, earnestly engaged about the aforesaid work with faithful and loving zeal."

not from Francia but from Franquia.[12] The first apostle of these people was Brother John surnamed from Monte Corvino who, at first a soldier, judge, and teacher of the Emperor Frederick, after 72 years[13] became a most wise and learned Minor Brother. On the kalends of May however we arrived at Constantinople by sea and we were in Pera till the feast of St. John Baptist; not idly, because we had a mighty controversy with the Patriarch of the Greeks and their whole council in the palace of St. Sophia, where God worked a new miracle in us, giving us a mouth and wisdom which they were not able to withstand and were forced to confess that they were necessarily schismatics, offering no cloak for their condemnation except the intolerable pride of the Roman prelates. Thence we sailed the Moorish Sea and in 8 days arrived at Caffa (the Crimea), where there are Christians of many sects. Thence we reached the first Emperor of the Tartars, Usbeg, and presented a letter, robes, a war-horse, *cytiac*,[14] and the Pope's gifts. And after the winter, well fed, handsomely dressed and rewarded, and provided by him with horses and expenses, we arrived at Almaliq of the Middle Empire, where we made a church, bought a site, made fonts, sang masses, and baptized many, preaching freely and publicly, notwithstanding that the year before a Bishop and six other Minor Brothers, sparkling with miracles, suffered solemn martyrdom there for Christ; whose names were, Brother Richard the Bishop, a Burgundian by nation, Brother Francis of Alexandria, Brother Pascal a Spaniard (who was a prophet and saw heaven opened and foretold martyrdom for himself and his companions, and that the Tartars of Sarai must be destroyed by a flood, that Almaliq should perish because of their martyrdom, that that Emperor must be killed the third day after their martyrdom, and many other glorious things), Brother

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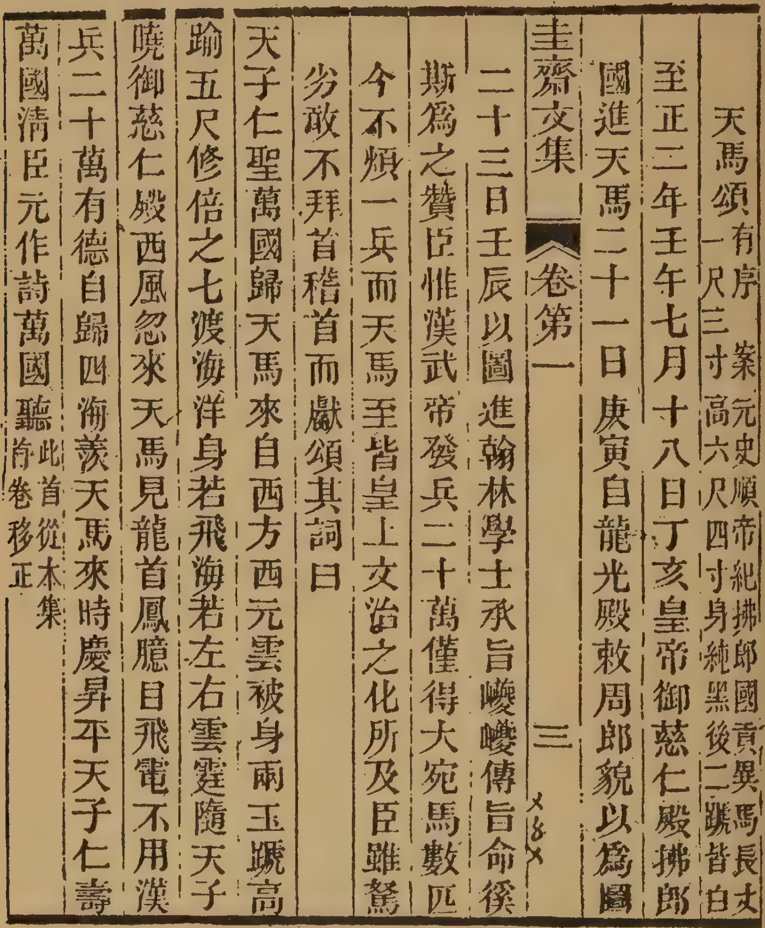
[12] *Franquis . . non a Francia, sed a Franquia* YULE "not from France, but from Frank-land." *Franquia* is not in *Du Cange*, nor *Frank-land* in *O.E.D.*, and the sense remains rather obscure. *Franquia* might possibly mean *freedom* or *frankness*.

[13] *post 72 annos* John is said, on doubtful authority (*A.M.*, IV. p. 345), to have been employed by the Emperor Michael Palaeologus (not Frederick, who died in 1250 !) in 1272, and it is possible that this date has something to do with this strange "72 years", but it is on the whole more likely that 72 is just a mistake for 12 or some other number. Monte Corvino, who was born about 1247 was a Minorite, if not in 1272, at least several years before 1289.

[14] *cytiacam* is supposed to represent the Greek ζῦθος (in Latin *Sabaium*), a drink made of fruits.



天馬頌有序（案元史順帝紀拂郎國貢異馬長丈一尺三寸高六尺四寸身純黑後二蹄皆白）
至正二年壬午七月十八日丁亥皇帝御慈仁殿拂郎
國進天馬二十一日庚寅自龍光殿敕周郎貌以爲圖
圭齋文集 卷第一 三 ×8×
二十三日壬辰以圖進翰林學士承旨巎巎傳旨命傒
斯爲之贊臣惟漢武帝發兵二十萬僅得大宛馬數匹
今不煩一兵而天馬至皆皇上文治之化所及臣雖駑
劣敢不拜首稽首而獻頌其詞曰
天子仁聖萬國歸天馬來自西方西元雲被身兩玉蹏高
踰五尺修倍之七渡海洋身若飛海若左右雲霆隨天子
廐御慈仁殿西風忽來天馬見龍首鳳臆目飛電不用漢
兵二十萬有德自歸四溮羨天馬來時慶昇平天子仁壽
萬國清臣元作詩萬國聽（此首從本集前卷移正）

FIG. 21.—The Ode on the Supernatural Horse.

Laurence of Ancona, Brother Peter, an Indian Brother their interpreter, and Gilotto a merchant. In the third year after our departure from the court, about the borders (*circa fines*), departing from Almaliq we arrived at Cyolloskagan, that is at the mountains of sand which the winds make, beyond which none before the Tartars thought the earth habitable, nor was it thought that there was any earth beyond. But the Tartars by the will of God crossed with wonderful diligence and were in a vast plain, where it is called by the philosophers the Torrid Zone and impassable, which yet the Tartars have crossed, and I too twice; of which in the Psalms of David: *He maketh the wilderness* etc. And having crossed this we reached Khan-baliq where is the chief seat of the empire of the East, of the incredible greatness of which and people and array of soldiers let silence be kept. But the great Kaan, when he saw the war-horses and the Pope's presents and the sealed letter and king Robert's too with the gold and us, rejoiced with great joy, thinking all very good, indeed the best, and honoured us very highly. Moreover when I was ceremonially dressed, with a most beautiful cross which went before me with candles and incense, singing *I believe in one God*, we entered into the presence of the Kaan dwelling in the glorious palace. And when the chant was ended I gave a full benediction which he received with humility.[15] And so we were sent to an imperial room which had been prepared for us in honourable fashion, two princes being allotted who ministered to us most liberally in all necessities, in food and drink and even to paper for lanterns (?), waiters and servants being deputed from the court. And thus they waited on us for about four years always with infinite respect, honouring us and the retinue with costly clothing. And if I were to count up all exactly he spent more than the value of 4000 marks for us. We were thirty-two persons. There were moreover many glorious disputations made against the Jews and other sects. But a great harvest of souls has also been made in that empire. For the Minor Brothers have a cathedral Church in Khan-baliq just next to the palace and a regular Archbishop's residence and several Churches in the city and bells, and they all live of the Emperor's table in the most honourable style. Seeing however that in no way was I willing to stay the Emperor allowed me to return to the Pope with expenses from him for three years and presents; and [desired] that I or another proper cardinal with full powers should be sent quickly, and he should be a Bishop, because all orientals whether they may be Christians or not have the highest respect for that order, and he should be of the Order of Minors, because they know no other priests and think the Pope is always such, as was that Pope Jerome who sent them the legate whom Tartars and Alans reverence as a saint, Brother John of Monte Corvino of the Order of Minors, of whom above. We were moreover in Khan-baliq about

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[15] We owe to De Mailla and Gaubil, and more recently to E. H. Parker and Pelliot, references to Chinese books which give us the date of this audience. Pelliot found, for example, the following in Ou-yang Hsüan, *Kuei chai chi* (ed. 1846) c. 1 fol. 3 : " Ode on the Supernatural Horse, with a Preface. (Note that in the *Yüan shih*, Annals of Shun Ti [c. 40 fol. 6r°], the Fu-lang kingdom presented a remarkable horse, the length 11 [*v.l.*13] feet 3 inches, the height 6 feet 4 inches, the body entirely black, the two hind hoofs both white.) In the second Chih-chêng year, *jên-wu*, 7th month, 18th day, *ting-hai* (19 August, 1342), when the Emperor was enthroned in the Tz'ŭ-jên Hall, the Fu-lang kingdom presented a supernatural horse. The 21 day, *kêng-yin* (22 Aug.), an order was issued from the Lung-kuang Hall to Chou Lang to make a picture of its likeness. The 23 day, *jên-ch'ên* (24 August), he took and presented the picture. Nao-nao, President of the Han-lin, published a decree ordering [me, Chieh] Hsi-ssŭ [*YS* c. 181 fol. 6, 7], to compose an ode for it. I reflect that Wu Ti of the Han sent out 200000 soldiers and barely obtained a few horses from Fergana (Ta-yüan); but now the supernatural horse is come without the exertion of one soldier. This has all been attained by the enlightenment of the Emperor's cultured rule. Though but a weakly jade dare I fail to bow my head, lay my head on the earth, and offer an ode? The words are: The Son of Heaven is benevolent and wise, all kingdoms turn to him. The supernatural horse is come from west of the west (*sic*). Dark clouds clothe the

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body, there are two jade hoofs. The height is more than five feet, the length is double that. In seven crossings of the ocean sea the body seemed to fly; the sea was like a retinue, the clouds and thunder followed. When the glory of the Son of Heaven was enthroned in the Tz'ŭ-jên Hall, the west wind suddenly came, the supernatural horse appeared, with the head of a dragon, the chest of a phoenix, with eyes darting lightnings. Without using the twenty myriad soldiers of the Han, when there is virtue [all things] come of themselves, the four seas long for it. When the supernatural horse came prosperity was exalted and continuous. The years of the Son of Heaven are benevolent, all nations are purified. My verses are made, all nations may hear. (This paragraph has been moved from the Introductory chapter of the original collection to the correct place.)" PELLIOT has traced Chou Lang's picture, which GAUBIL actually saw in the 18th century, to the latest catalogue of the imperial collection in 1815, and it may still exist. cf. *T'oung-pao*, 1914, pp. 642, 643.

three years. Thence we directed our way through Manzi with magnificent provision from the Emperor and about 200 horses; and we saw the glory of the world in so many cities, lands, hamlets, and things which no tongue could sufficiently express. And from the feast of St. Stephen until the Sunday of Olives (Palm Sunday) we came over the Indian sea to the most noble city of India by name Columbus (Kulam). . . . .

The History of the Mountain of Ceylon. . . . And first it must be seen how we reached it and in what manner. . . . For first of all, when we were dismissed by the Kaan, the most exalted Emperor, with very great gifts and provision and tried to pass through India (another way by land being closed on account of wars) and the passage was by no means open, it was the order of the Kaan that we should come through Manzi, which once used to be called Greatest India. Manzi moreover has cities and people without number; and they are incredible to us, if I had not seen the wealth of all things, of fruits which the Latin land never produces, and 30000 very large cities, excepting infinite villages and towns. And among them is a most famous city by the name of Campsay (Hang-chou), more wonderful, more beautiful, richer, and larger, with more people and more riches and delights, buildings, and especially temples of idols where there are 1000 and 2000 monks living together, than any city which is, or perhaps has ever been, in the world; where writers write that there are ten thousands of noble bridges of stone with carvings and statues of armed princes. It is incredible to one who does not see; and yet perhaps they do not lie. There is also Zayton, a wonderful sea port, a city to us incredible, where the Minor Brothers have three very beautiful Churches, most excellent and very wealthy, a bath, a warehouse, the depository of all the merchants. They have also the best and most beautiful bells, two of which I had made with great ceremony, of which we decided that one, namely the larger, should be named Johannina and the other Antonina, and placed in the midst of the Saracens. And we departed from Zayton on the feast of St. Stephen and on Wednesday of the Greater Week we arrived at

Columbus. Next, wishing to sail to St. Thomas the Apostle (Mailapur) and thence to the Holy Land, we went on board junks from Lower India, which is called Mimbar (*or* Minubar, Minibar), on the vigil of St. George and were tossed by so many storms that sixty times or more we were, so to speak, plunged under the water down to the bottom of the sea.[16]

3. There are also certain animals almost of human shape, specially with the queen of Saba, and in the garden of Campsay, in that most famous monastery where there are so many monstrous animals which they believe to be souls of the dead. But I learnt of certain knowledge that they are unreasoning animals, except that the devil uses them as once the serpent's tongue, as those unbelievers deserve on account of their unbelief. Otherwise their life wholly occupied with religious duties and prayers and fastings, if they were in the true faith, would exceed all regularity and temperance of ours. For those animals ordinarily come to eat at a given sign, but yet they never came if a cross was present; they came afterwards as the cross retired. Therefore I conclude that these monsters are not men, though they may seem to have some [human] actions, but are like monkeys which, if we had never seen, we should suppose to be men.[17]

The Alans or Alani who have been mentioned above seem to have been a Scythian tribe settled on the northern slopes of the Caucasus. They are said to have been known to the Chinese in the later Han dynasty, but did not become conspicuous in their history until the thirteenth century when they are generally called A-su, which is no doubt the same as W. of Rubruck's Aas or Akas. Alan troops seem to have served the Mongols from Chingis onwards, and an imperial guard of A-su in two divisions, left and right, was formed in 1272 and was still in existence in 1330 and apparently to the end of the dynasty.[18]

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[16] *Fontes Rerum Boh.*, III. pp. 494*b*–497*a*, 499*b*, 500*a*. cf. *Cathay*, III. pp. 209–216, 228–230; *JRAS*, 1917, pp. 1–11; *SF* pp. 525–530, 536, 537. The dates named on the return voyage are, according to Yule's calculation, 26 December, 1346, 25, 28 March, 22 April, 1347; or more probably, 26 December, 1347, 13, 16, 22, April, 1348, though this allows only a week at Columbus. Yule regarded Meinert's emendation of *terram Sabam* for *terram sanctam* ("Holy Land") as probably right. Marignolli had reached Ceylon from the island of Saba.

[17] *Fontes Rerum Boh.*, III. pp. 509, 510; *SF* pp. 548, 549. cf. *Cathay*, III. pp. 259, 260; p. 244 above.

The Alans are mentioned very often in the *Yüan shih*, but it will be impossible to do more than to make some extracts from the notes, themselves far from complete, which were printed in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1917.

The first person to be noticed is Nieh-ku-la (?Nicholas) who surrendered to Mangu with thirty men of Yeh-li-ya's (?Elijah) A-su. His son A-t'a-ch'ih, a *chiliarch* in the Left Alan Guards, and grandson Chiao-hua, who was serving in 1328, are both briefly mentioned. Chiao-hua's son Cho-yen-pu-hua has his biography given at rather greater length. He distinguished himself several times in battle, and was rapidly promoted through a number of posts. In 1328 we find him leading 400 Alan troops and, a little later, six hundred. On 23 December, 1336, he is called President of the Board of War (Ch'u mi yüan) and is given the command of the Left Alan Guards and of another regiment. Professor Pelliot has identified him with Chemboga Vensii (p. 252 above). None of his many titles suggest anything like Vensii.[19]

Nieh-ku-la's biography is followed by that of A-êrh-ssŭ-lan, who served Mangu, with his sons A-san-chên and Nieh-ku-lai (who took part in the expedition against Karajang (Yün-nan)), grandson Hu-êrh-tu-ta, and great-grandson Hu-tu-t'ieh-mu-êrh, who fought against Kaidu and died in 1311.[20]

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[18] *Pharsalia* 8, 223; 10, 454; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, IV. xii; Seneca, *Thyestes*, 629; *Hou han shu* c. 118 fol. 6r°; *YS* c. 86 fol. 6, 7; etc. In the map of the *Ching shih ta tien* (*Med. Res.*, II. map) and in *YS* c. 63 fol. 16r° the name A-lan-a-ssŭ is used in place of A-su. Rubruck (in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, I. p. 102) has: "Vpon the euen of *Pentecost* (7 June, 1253), there came vnto vs certain *Alanians*, who are there called Acias (or, *Akas*–Rockhill, *Aas*), being Christians after the manner of the *Grecians*, using greeke bookes and Grecian priests." For the final fate of the Alans cf. Pelliot, *T'oung-pao*, 1914, p. 643.

[19] *YS* c. 123 fol. 7v°, 8r°; c. 39 fol. 2v°. Bretschneider, *Notices of Med. Geog.*, p. 262, considers that Yeh-li-ya is probably the same as Yeh-lieh below. cf. *JNCBRAS*, 1876.

[20] *YS* c. 123 fol. 8r°; 1 fol. 6v°.

Hang-hu-ssŭ, a man of the A-su tribe, was ruler of the kingdom of A-su. When Ogotai reached his territory Hang-hu-ssŭ came at the head of his people to surrender to him. He was granted the title of pa-tu-êrh (*bahadur*) and a gold tablet, and was ordered to bring a body of his countrymen for active service. He picked out 1000 warriors and put his elder son A-t'a-ch'ih in command. After distinguished service against the Sung in Chiang-nan and elsewhere A-t'a-ch'ih is said to have been killed by treachery when he was drunk at Chên-ch'ao chou in 1274 (cf. p. 141 above). Hang-hu-ssŭ (or Ang-ho-ssŭ) was murdered in his own country, which then passed to the care of his wife Wai-ma-ssŭ and of his younger son An-fa-p'u. A-t'a-ch'ih's son Pai-ta-êrh held a post in the Right Alan Guards and died in 1300. Pai-ta-êrh's elder son Wo-lo-ssŭ held important military posts and was granted the tiger-tablet with three pearls in 1328.

4. His younger son Fu-ting inherited his appointments with the rank of Huai-yüan ta chiang-chün. Afterwards he was promoted to be *darugha* (one of the 3 chiefs of the staff) of the Right Alan Guards, with control of the Hou-wei-chün (*YS* c. 86 fol. 4 r°). In the 4th Chih-ta year (1311) his elder brother Tu-tan was appointed to the second post in the Right Alan Guards and Fu-ting resigned his position in the Hou-wei and was promoted to be *T'ung-chien* of the Ch'u-mi yüan. He was ordered to lead 1000 men to guard Ch'ien-min chên (at Tung-k'ou in Ta-ning lu in Manchuria. *YS* c. 86 fol. 5 r°). Afterwards he received the title of Ting-yüan ta chiang-chün (one degree higher than Huai-yüan) with the office of *Ch'ien* in the Ch'u-mi yüan and second rank in the Hou-wei-ch'in-chün and *T'i-tiao* and *darugha* of the Right Alan Guards. In the second year (? 1315) he received the title of Tzŭ-shan tai-fu with the office of *T'ung-chih* of the Ch'u-mi yüan. In the latter Chih-yüan period (1335–1340) he was appointed a President of the Ch'u-mi-yüan.[21]

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[21] *YS* c. 132 fol. 1. The identification of Fu-ting with Futim Jovens was, I believe, first published by Cordier on the authority of Pelliot in *Cathay*, III. p. 182.

5. On *mou-hsü* (5 December, 1335) the former President of the Ch'u-mi yüan, Fu-ting, and Shih-la-pu-hua Sa-êrh-ti-ko were ordered to return to the capital. Previously the two men had been unjustly degraded on a charge of plotting to assassinate Yen T'ieh-mu-êrh before the Emperor (Toghan temur) had been enthroned, and they were consequently now reinstated.[22]

We cannot doubt that this *Chih-yüan-shih* Fu-ting is the Futim Juens whose name is first of the four Alan chiefs who addressed the Pope in 1336 (p. 252 above). As great-grandson of the "ruler of the kingdom of A-su" he may have been, as Professor Pelliot points out, the actual head of the Alans in China in 1336.

Yeh-lieh Pa-tu-êrh of the A-su tribe joined his chief in submitting to Ogotai. He was famous for having caught a tiger, which had attacked him, by the tongue and killed it with his knife. Under Mangu and Kubilai he was engaged in various campaigns, ending with the subjugation of the cities of the Yang-tzŭ valley. In one of these he was entertained by the Sung governor, who had professed to surrender, and killed while he was drunk. His elder son, Yeh-su-tai-êrh, fell in the attack on Yang-chou, and the younger, Yü-wa-shih, succeeded to the command of the Alan troops and followed Bayan against the Sung and joined later in expeditions against Nayan and Kaidu. He died suddenly in 1306 and was succeeded in turn by his son I-ch'i-li-tai and his grandson Pai-chu.[23]

Pa-tu-êrh was a member of an A-su family which had settled at Shang-tu, and he had elder brothers named Wu-tso-êrh Pu-han and Ma T'a-êrh-sha. Kubilai put him in command of 1000 Alans. He died in 1297 and was followed by his son Pieh-chi-lien, who was still alive in November, 1328, and grandson Yeh-lien-ti.[24]

K'ou-êrh-chi of the A-su tribe joined Mangu's army with his father Fu-tê-lai-tz'ŭ and twenty families of A-su soldiers.

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[22] *YS* c. 38 fol. 7r°. These two passages are not quite consistent as this implies that Fu-ting had been President of the Ch'u-mi-yüan before the accession of the Emperor in 1333; and the former says that he received that appointment in the Chih-yüan period.

[23] *YS* c. 132 fol. 2v°, 3r°.

[24] *YS* c. 132 fol. 3v°, 4r°.

In 1308 he was appointed to a post in the Left Alan Guards and died in 1311. He was succeeded by his son Ti-mi-ti-êrh, who led his men to join Yü-chua-shih (? = Yü-wa-shih) against Nayan.

6. Ti-mi-ti-êrh's son Hsiang-shan served Wu Tsung (1307–1311) and Jên Tsung (1311–1320) in the body-guard. In the ninth month of the first T'ien-li year (October, 1328) when the troops mutinied he fought at I-hsing and killed seven of the enemy. From morn to dusk he drove back the enemy in thirteen places. For his services he was granted a gold girdle and the post of *Tu-chih-hui-shih* of the Left Alan Guards.[25]

Hsiang-shan has been identified by Professor Pelliot with Chyansam (Caticen) of the Pope's letters; and so three of the four or five strange-looking names connected with the embassy of 1336 have been verified from these perfectly independent and contemporary sources. The names of Joannes Juchoy and Rubeus Pinzanus have not yet, as far as I know, been traced. And the titles (if they are titles) are less easy to identify than the names. Tungii suggests *t'ung-chih*, and Pinzanus *p'ing-chang*.

These notes taken from the official biographies of A-su or Alans, who were all *re vel nomine*, as Marignolli says, Christians, by no means exhaust the allusions to the Alans which may be found in the *Yüan shih* and other books of the period, but will be perhaps enough to form a considerable additional evidence of the prevalence in China during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of a foreign Christianity.[26]

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[25] *YS* c. 135 fol. 3v°, 4r°.

[26] The mentions of Christians in Ibn Batuta's extraordinarily fanciful account of Khansâ (Hang-chou) and in one or two passages of Maundeville which seem to be copied from Odoric are not worthy of being given in full. Ibn Batuta's remark that the name Khansâ is like that of the poetess Khansâ, sister of Sakhr, is of interest in connexion with the question of the meaning of the foreign names (Khansâ, Campsay, or Quinsai) of Hang-chou; whether they are transcriptions of Ching-shih, of Hsing-tsai, or of Hang-chou, or are, as Ibn Batuta suggests, some purely foreign word analogous to Zaitun. cf. C. DEFRÉMERY, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, IV. 1858, pp. 283-286; A. W. POLLARD, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* pp. 156, 160 (passages on fol. 99(100), 102(103) of the original MS. Titus C. 16).

A SUMMARY TABLE OF THE CHIEF CHINESE DYNASTIES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

(*Note.*—A.D. 1 was the first Yüan-shih year in the reign of P'ing T in the Former or Western Han dynasty.)

Dynasty	*First Year*	*Dynasty*	*First Year*
Han, East or Later	25	Liang, Later	907
Han, Shu	221	T'ang, Later	923
Chin, West	265	Chin, Later	936
Chin, East	317	Han, Later	947
Sung, Former or Liu	420	Chou, Later	951
Ch'i, Southern	479	Sung	960
Liang, Southern	502	Sung, Southern	1127
Ch'ên	557	Yüan [1]	1280
Sui	590	Ming	1368
T'ang [1]	618	Ch'ing	1644

A SUMMARY TABLE OF THE MINOR CHINESE DYNASTIES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA [2]

Dynasty	*Years*	*Dynasty*	*Years*
Wei, Former	220–265	Chou, North	557– 581
Wu, East	222–280	Sui	581– 589
Ch'in, Later	384–417	Wu Yüeh, Kingdom of	908– 931
Wei, North	398–534	T'ang, Southern	939– 958
Wei, East	534–550	Liao (918–1207)	947–1125
Wei, West	535–556	Chin (Golden Tartars)	1122–1234
Liang, North	412–439	Yüan	1215–1279
Ch'i, North	550–577	Ming	1645–1662

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[1] See separate Tables below.

[2] Some of these were independent and sometimes foreign dynasties ruling over a part of the Chinese empire, and some, like the Sui, Yüan, or Ming, formed the beginning or end of a Chief Dynasty of the same name. Both the above Tables are taken from P. Hoang's *Concordance des Chronologies* (*Var. Sin.* 29), with three slight additions.

THE EMPERORS AND REIGNS OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY

Posthumous Titles	*Name*	*Birth*	*Accession*	*Death*	*Reign*	*First Day of First Year* [1]
A Kao Tsu; Shên yao ta shêng ta kuang hsiao	Yüan	566	18.6.618	12.6.626	Wu-tê	18.6.618
B T'ai Tsung; Wên wu ta shêng ta kuang hsiao 2 son of A	Shih-min	23.1.599	8.9.625	10.7.649	Chêng-kuan	23.1.627
C Kao Tsung; T'ien huang ta shêng ta hung hsiao 9 son of B	Ch'ih	July 628	15.7.649	27.12.683	Yung-hui Hsien-ch'ing Lung-shuo Lin-tê Ch'ien-fêng Tsung-chang Ch'êng-hêng Shang-yüan I-fêng T'iao-lu Yung-lung K'ai-yao Yung-shun Hung-tao	7.2.650 7.2.656 4.4.661 2.2.664 14.2.666 22.4.668 27.3.670 20.9.674 18.12.676 15.7.679 21.9.680 15.11.681 2.4.682 27.12.683
D Chung Tsung; Ta ho ta shêng ta chao hsiao 7 son of C	Hsien	26.11.656	3.1.684	(deposed 26.2.684)	Ssŭ-shêng	23.1.684
E Jui Tsung; Hsüan chên ta shêng ta hsing hsiao 8 son of C	Tan	22.6.662	27.2.684	(deposed? 19.10.684)	Wên-ming	?27.2.684
F [Wu Hou]; Tsê t'ien shun shêng		623	[23.1.684]	(deposed 24.2.705) 16.12.705	Kuang-chê Ch'ui-kung Yung-ch'ang Tsai-ch'u T'ien-shou Ju-i Ch'ang-shou Yen-tsai Chêng-shêng T'ien-ts'ê-wan-sui Wan-sui-têng-fêng Wan-sui-t'ung-t'ien Shên-ch'u Shêng-li Chiu-shih Ta-tsu Ch'ang-an	19.10.684 9.2.685 27.1.689 18.12.689 1st year = 690 16.10.690 [2] 22.4.692 23.10.692 9.6.694 23.11.694 22.10.695 10.1.696 22.4.696 29.9.697 20.12.697 1st year = 698 27.5.700 15.2.701 26.11.701
D Chung Tsung (*see above*)			23.2.705	3.7.710	Shên-lung Ching-lung	21.2.705 5.10.707

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[1] The first year (*yüan nien*) of a reign was made retrospective. Thus the whole year 683 would afterwards be called the " 1st Hung-tao year," but it is obvious that an inscription or document dated in October, 683, would be dated as in the " 2nd Yung-shun year." Note the exceptions in 690 and 698. The second and following years began on the first day of the first month of the kalendar year.

[2] The name of the dynasty was changed from T'ang to Chou from 16 October, 690, till 704.

THE EMPERORS AND REIGNS OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY—*contd.*

Posthumous Titles	*Name*	*Birth*	*Acces-sion*	*Death*	*Reign*	*First Day of First Year*
G Wên Wang	Chung-mao	695	8.7.710	22.7.710	T'ang-lung	5.7.710
E Jui Tsung (*see above*)			25.7.710	13.7.716 resigned 8.9.712	Ching-yün T'ai-chi Yen-ho	19.8.710 20.2.712 21.6.712
H Hsüan Tsung; Chih tao ta shêng ta ming hsiao 3 son of E	Lung-chi	8.9.685	8.9.712	3.5.762	Hsien-t'ien K'ai-yüan T'ien-pao	12.9.712 22.12.713 10.2.742 [1]
I Su Tsung; Wên ming wu tê ta shêng ta hsüan hsiao 3 son of H	Hêng	711	12.8.756	16.5.762	Chih-tê Ch'ien-yüan Shang-yüan Pao-ying	12.8.756 18.3.758 7.6.760 14.5.762
J Tai Tsung; Jui wên hsiao wu eldest son of I	Yü	9.1.727	18.5.762	11.6.779	Kuang-tê Yung-t'ai Ta-li	24.8.763 26.1.765 23.12.766
K Tê Tsung; Shên wu hsiao wên eldest son of J	K'uo	27.5.742	13.6.779	25.2.805	Chien-chung Hsing-yüan Chêng-yüan	11.2.780 27.1.784 14.2.785
L Shun Tsung; Chih tê ta shêng ta an hsiao eldest son of K	Sung	?.2–3.761	28.2.805	11.2.806	Yung-chêng	1.9.805
M Hsien Tsung; Shêng shên chang wu hsiao eldest son of L	Ch'un	March. 778	5.9.805	14.2.820	Yüan-ho	25.1.806
N Mu Tsung; Jui shêng wên hui hsiao 3 son of M	Hêng	?.7–8.795	20.2.820	25.2.824	Ch'ang-ch'ing	9.2.821
O Ching Tsung; Jui wu chao min hsiao eldest son of N	Chan	22.7.809	26.2.824	9.1.827	Pao-li	29.1.825
P Wên Tsung; Yüan shêng chao hsien hsiao 2 son of N	Ang	20.11.809	13.1.827	10.2.840	T'ai-ho K'ai-ch'êng	6.2.827 22.1.836
Q Wu Tsung; Chih tao chao su hsiao 5 son of N	Yen	2.7.814	20.2.840	22.4.846	Hui-ch'ang	4.2.841
R Hsüan Tsung; Shêng wu hsien wên hsiao 13 son of M	Shên	27.7.810	22.4.846	10.9.859 (7.9.859)	Ta-chung	6.2.847
S I Tsung; Chao shêng kung hui hsiao eldest son of R	Ts'ui	28.12.833	10.9.859	15.8.873	Hsien-t'ung	17.12.860

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[1] Years were called *tsai* instead of *nien* from 20 Jan., 744 till 18 March, 758.

THE EMPERORS AND REIGNS OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY—*contd.*

Posthumous Titles	*Name*	*Birth*	*Accession*	*Death*	*Reign*	*First Day of First Year*
T Hsi Tsung; Hui shêng kung ting hsiao 5 son of S	Huan	8.6.862	15.8.873	20.4.888	Ch'ien-fu Kuang-ming Chung-ho Kuang-ch'i Wên-tê	17.12.874 14.2.880 9.8.881 2.4.885 7.4.888
U Chao Tsung; Shêng mu ching wên hsiao 7 son of S	Yeh	31.3.867	22.4.888	22.9.904	Lung-chi Ta-shun Ching-fu Ch'ien-ning Kuang-hua T'ien-fou T'ien-yu	4.2.889 25.1.890 22.2.892 10.2.894 16.9.898 15.5.901 28.5.904
V [Ai Huang Ti]; Chao hsüan kuang lieh hsiao 9 son of U	Chu	27.9.892	26.9.904	25.3.908	*The Liang dynasty was proclaimed*	5.6.907

THE EMPERORS AND REIGNS OF THE YÜAN DYNASTY

Names	*Posthumous Titles*	*Birth*	*Accession*	*Death*	*Reign*	*First Day of First Year*
A Chingis; Temuchin	T'ai Tsu; Shêng wu	1152 *or* 1155	1206 *or* 1202	25.8.1227		1206
B Tului 4 son of A	Jui Tsung; Ching hsiang	1186–1190	Regent in C's absence	9–10.1232		
C Ogotai 3 son of A	T'ai Tsung; Ying wên	1186	13.9.1229	11.12.1241		1229
Regency of Lu Huang Hou Ni-ma-ch'a-êrh, mother of D.						
D Güyük eldest son of C	Ting Tsung; Chien p'ing	1206	24.8.1246	?.4.1248		1246
Regency of Empress of D. No records for three years.						
E Möngke (Mangu) eldest son of B	Hsien Tsung;	10.1.1209	1251	11.8.1259		1251
F Setsen; Kubilai 4 son of B	Shih Tsu; Shêng tê shên kung wên wu	23.9.1215	5.5.1260	18.2.1294	Chung-t'ung Chih-yüan	29.6.1260 7.9.1264
G Öljaitu; Temur 3 son of Yü Tsung	Ch'êng Tsung; Ch'in ming kuang hsiao	15.10.1265	10.5.1294	10.2.1307	Yüan-chêng Ta-tê	17.1.1295 21.3.1297
H Kuluk; Khaishan eldest son of Shun Tsung	Wu Tsung; Jên hui hsüan hsiao	4.8.1281	21.6.1307	27.1.1311	Chih-ta	24.1.1308

THE EMPERORS AND REIGNS OF THE YÜAN DYNASTY—*contd.*

Names	*Posthumous Titles*	*Birth*	*Accession*	*Death*	*Reign*	*First Day of First Year*
I Buyantu; Ayurpari-bhadra 2 son of Shun Tsung	Jên Tsung; Shêng wên ch'in hsiao	9.4.1285	7.4.1311	1.3.1320	Huang-ch'ing Yen-yu	8.2.1312 7.2.1314
J Gueguen; Suddhipala elder son of I	Ying Tsung; Jui shêng wên hsiao	22.2.1303	19.4.1320	4.9.1323	Chih-chih	29.1.1321
K Yesun temur eldest son of Hsien Tsung	[T'ai-ting Chih p'ing]	28.11.1293	4.10.1323	15.8.1328	T'ai-ting Chih-ho	28.1.1324 7.4.1328
Son of K made emperor for a few days					T'ien-shun	Oct., 1328
L Jijagatu; Togh temur 2 son of H	Wên Tsung; Shêng ming yüan hsiao	16.2.1304	16.10.1328	2.9.1332	T'ien-li	16.10.1328
M Khutuktu; Kusala eldest son of H	Ming Tsung; I hsien ching	22.12.1300	27.2.1329	30.8.1329		
L *as above*	His Tablet was removed from the Temple 1340		8.9.1329		Chih-shun	25.5.1330
N Rinchenpal 2 son of M	Ning Tsung; Chung shêng ssŭ hsiao	1.5.1326	23.10.1332	14.12.1332		
O Toghan temur elder son of M	Shun Ti	25.5.1320	19.7.1333	23.5.1370[1]	Yüan-t'ung Chih-yüan Chih-chêng	15.11.1333 8.12.1335 18.1.1341

[1] The dynasty ended when Shun Ti fled from Tai-tu (Peking) 10 September, 1368. The two above Tables are compiled from the *Chiu t'ang shu*, *Tang shu*, and *Yüan shih* respectively, compared with P. Hoang's *Concordance des Chronologies.*

A TABLE OF IMPORTANT DATES

635	Arrival of A-lo-pên at Ch'ang-an.
638 Aug.–Sept.	Foundation of Christian Monastery at Ch'ang-an by imperial decree.
642	The *I shên lun* (p. 58) written.
650 (?)	The *Hsü t'ing Mi shih so ching* (p. 58) written.
700 (?)	A Ta-ch'in Monastery founded at Ch'êng-tu (p. 71).
713, 732	Visits of the monk Chi-lieh.
744	Visit of the monk Chi-ho.
745 Oct.	Decree ordering that Christian monasteries should be called Ta-ch'in Monasteries.
755–780 (?)	Arrival and activity of I-ssŭ (Izd-buzid) from Balkh.
780–	Activity of the monk Ching-ching (Adam) as translator of Christian and other books.
781 4 Feb.	Erection of the Christian Monument in or near Ch'ang-an.
810 (?)	David Metropolitan of China (p. 75).
824	Inscription by Shu Yüan-yü (p. 69).
845 Sept.	Decree suppressing Buddhist and Christian monasteries.
875 (?)	Ibn Wahab visits Canton and Ch'ang-an (p. 77).
980 (?)	Christianity reported to be extinct in China (p. 75).
1000–1200	Christianity spreading among non-Chinese tribes of central and eastern Asia.
1230 (?)	Sauma born at Khan-baliq (p. 95): Christianity well established there.
1245	Mark (Mar Jabalaha) born at Tung-shêng in Shan-hsi (p. 97).
1262	References to Christians in Chinese official documents begin to appear.
1265 (?)	Nicolo and Maffeo Polo reach Shang-tu.
1275 (?)	Sauma and Mark leave Khan-baliq for the West.
1275 (?)	Marco Polo reaches Shang-tu.
1278 (1281)	Six monasteries built at Chên-chiang and one at Hang-chou.
1281 2 Nov.	Mark consecrated to be Nestorian Patriarch (Mar Jabalaha III).
1287	Sauma starts on his mission to Europe.
1289 6 Mar.	Establishment of the Ch'ung fu ssŭ (p. 225).
1289 July	John of Monte Corvino leaves Europe for the East.
1291 (?)	Marco Polo leaves China.
1292 20 Dec.	Letter of John of Monte Corvino from India.
1294 10 Jan.	Sauma dies.

1294 18 Feb.	Kubilai dies.
1294 July (?)	John of Monte Corvino reaches Khan-baliq.
1298	Marco Polo's *Description of the World* written.
1298	King George killed.
1298 (?)	The first Catholic Church built in Khan-baliq.
1303 (?)	Brother Arnold of Cologne reaches Khan-baliq.
1304	Christians mentioned at Wên-chou.
1305 8 Jan.	First letter of John of Monte Corvino from China.
1306 13 Feb.	Second letter of John of Monte Corvino.
1307	Seven Franciscan Bishops leave Europe for Khan-baliq.
1313 (?)	Bishops Andrew, Gerard, and Peregrine reach Khan-baliq.
1314 (?)	Odoric leaves Europe for the East.
1317 Aug.	A Christian monastery at Yang-chou mentioned.
1317 13 Nov.	Mark (Mar Jabalaha III) dies.
1318	Peregrine is made Bishop of Zaitun.
1318 30 Dec.	Letter of Peregrine (? spurious).
1321 9, 11 Apr.	Four Franciscan Brothers martyrs at Thana.
1322 21 May	Letter of Brother Bartholomew.
1323 (?)	Peregrine dies and Andrew of Perugia is made Bishop of Zaitun.
1323 (?)	Odoric reaches China.
1326 Jan.	Letter of Andrew of Perugia.
1328	John of Monte Corvino dies at Khan-baliq.
1330 May	Odoric's book is written at Padua.
1333	Nicholas appointed to succeed John of Monte Corvino as Archbishop of Khan-baliq but dies on the way.
1336	Alan envoys leave Khan-baliq with letters for the Pope.
1338	John of the Marignolli leaves Italy for the East.
1342 19 Aug.	He is received by the Emperor at Khan-baliq.
1347 (?)	He leaves China.
1362	Death of Andrew "Archbishop of Zaitun" (?).
1368	The Mongol dynasty ends and Christians in China are no longer mentioned in Chinese or European documents.
1550 (?)	Reported persecution of Christians remaining in North China.
1605 June	The Jew Ai tells M. Ricci of worshippers of the Cross still lingering at K'ai-fêng, Lin-ch'ing, and in Shan-hsi.
1619	A Cross carved on stone found near Ch'üan-chou (Fig. 9).
1625	The Christian Monument found near Hsi-an.
1625 June	The Inscription on the Monument published at Hang-chou: and translated into Latin by J. Rho.
1638 Spring	Two more Crosses found in or near Ch'üan-chou (Fig. 10).
1644	The Inscription on the Monument and woodcuts of the three Crosses (Figs. 9, 10) published by E. Diaz at Hang-chou.

1727	A Christian Syriac manuscript of the 8th century found at Peking.
1890 Aug.	Cemetery found at Shih chu tzŭ liang.
1906	A Cross found near Ch'üan-chou (Fig. 11).
1908	A Chinese Christian manuscript of the 8th century found at Tun-huang (Fig. 7): Four more early MSS. supposed to come from Tun-huang obtained by collectors in the following years.
1919 Aug.	Two Crosses found near Fang-shan (Fig. 12).
1929 Aug.	Fourteen small bronze Crosses obtained at Pao-t'ou in Sui-yüan.

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(The first syllable of a Chinese name is treated as a separate word, whether followed by a hyphen or not.)

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